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A Reference Grammar of Maithili

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MOUTON
DE GRUYTER

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Abbreviations

ABL	Ablative	INSTR	Intrumental
ACC/DAT	Accusative-Dative	IO	Indirect object
ADJ	Adjective	LOC	Locative
AGR	Agreement	M	Masculine
AGGREG	Aggregative	MH	Mid honorific
ASP	Aspect	MOD	Modal
AUX	Auxiliary	N	Noun
CAUS	Causative	NH	Non honorific
CL	Clitic	NOM	Nominative
CLAS	Classifier	NP	Noun phrase
COMP	Complementizer	O	Object
COND	Conditional mood	OO	Oblique object
COREL	Correlativizer	OPT	Optative
CP	Conjunctive (absolutive) particle	P	Particle
		PASS	Passive
DEF	Definitizer	PERF	Perfective aspect
DEMONS	Demonstrative	PL	Plural
DET	Determiner	PP	Postpositional phrase
DO	Direct object	PR	Pronoun
EMPH	Emphatic marker	PRES	Present tense
F	Feminine	PRESPCPL	Present participle
FUT	Future tense	PROG	Progressive aspect
GENIT	Genitive	PST	Past tense
GER INF	Gerundial infinitive	PSTPCPL	Past participle
H	Honorific	REDUP	Reduplicaiton
HH	High honorific	REFL	Reflexive
HORT	Hortative	S	Subject
HP	Honorific particle	SG	Singular
IMP	Imperative	TNS	Tense
IMPERF	Imperfective aspect	V	Verb
INF	Infinitive	VOC	Vocative
INDEF	Indefinite	VP	Verb phrase

1	First person	< >	Transliteration
2	Second person	/ /	Phonemic transcription
3	Third person	[ ]	Phonetic transcription

Chapter one
A century of Maithili grammatical tradition

1.0 Background

Maithili is an eastern Indo-Aryan language spoken by a total of about 21 million people in the eastern and northern regions of the Bihar state of India and the southeastern plains, known as the *tarai*, of Nepal. In the past, Maithili was regarded either as a dialect of Bengali (Beames 1872–79 [1966]: 84–85)[1], or of Eastern Hindi (Hoernle 1880), or as one of the three dialects of a spurious language called "Bihari" (Grierson 1883 b–87 b, 1903 [1968]; Hoernle–Grierson 1885, 1889). Today, however, it is recognized as a distinct language and taught as such in the Indian Universities of Calcutta, Bihar, Patna, Bhagalpur, Darbhanga, and Benares, and the Tribhuvan University of Nepal. Demographically, Maithili is the second most widely spoken language of Nepal[2], and, according to the International P. E. N. (Poets, Essayists, and Novelists) and the *Sahitya Akademi* (National Academy of Letters), the 16th largest language of India. As early an investigator as Grierson (1881 a: 2) recognized the distinctiveness of Maithili:

> For Maithilī *is* a language and not a dialect. It is the custom to look upon it as an uncouth dialect of untaught villagers, but it is in reality the native language of more than seven and a quarter millions of people, of whom, as will be borne out by every official having experience of North Bihār, at least five millions can neither speak nor understand either Hindī or Urdū without the greatest difficulty. It differs from both Urdū and Bangālī, both in Vocabulary and in Grammar, and is as much a distinct language from either of them as Marāṭhī or Uṛiyā ...

Previous studies on Maithili are not lacking. It is therefore worthwhile to look briefly at the century-old grammatical tradition of Maithili – the first grammar of Maithili being the one written by George Abraham Grierson[3] in 1881 and entitled *An introduction to the Maithilī language of North Bihār.*

The grammatical studies on Maithili may be roughly divided into five categories: (a) traditional, (b) historical, (c) pedagogical, (d) structural/descriptive, and (e) lexicographical. It should be borne in mind though that the above labelling is at best arbitrary, and is so done for ease of

presentation. Each of the above categories is discussed below in some detail. A brief discussion of recent ongoing research on Maithili language and linguistics is provided in section 1.4.

1.1 Traditional

Two main traditions seem to have influenced the traditional grammars of Maithili. These may be termed as: (i) the native tradition, i. e., the ancient tradition of Sanskrit writings; and (ii) the Western tradition, i. e., the more modern tradition of Western, especially English, grammars.

1.1.1 The native tradition

The earliest Maithili grammar, written in the manner of the ancient Sanskritic tradition, is that of Dinabandhu Jha. Written in Maithili, D. Jha's grammatical treatise is entitled *Mithilā-Bhāṣā-Vidyotana*, and was published in 1353 sāla (i. e., circa. 1946 A.D.). The *Vidyotana* is written in the form of *sūtra*, followed by explanations thereof in a rather heavily Sanskritized and abstruse language. The *Vidyotana* also has a long *Dhātupāṭha* (published in 1949–50 as part II of *Vidyotana*) appended to it in the truly Paṇinian manner.

D. Jha, who is a grammarian of great erudition, provides the following justifications for his excessive reliance on the Sanskritic model:

> 1. eka tā̃ saṁskrita vyākaraṇa bahuta thoṛa śabdasā̃ banala achi tathā yacca yāvacca sakala sādhu śabdaka bodhaka achi ataha tadanusāra yadi mithilābhāṣahuka vyākaraṇa nirmita ho tā̃ gauravānvita hoeta.
> [First, the Sanskrit grammar is extremely concise: an equally concise grammar of Maithili would be worthwhile to write.]
> 2. dvitīya mithilā[bhā]ṣā saṁskritahika ādhāra para banala thika tẽ okara vyākaraṇo saṁskritavyākaraṇahika chāyāpanna hoebāka cāhī.
> [Second, since Maithili is derived from Sanskrit, its grammar must of necessity be made in the image of the Sanskrit grammar.]
> 3. tesara ī yukti je kono deśabhāṣāka vyākaraṇa saṁskrita – vyākaraṇānusāra saṁkṣiptasūtrarūpẽ nahi banala achi. takhana jā̃ mithilābhāṣāka vyākaraṇa pāṇinīya vyākaraṇānusāra sūtrarūpẽ nirmita ho tā̃ praśasta hoeta o adhyetrivargakẽ ṭhekāna karabāme tathā abhyāsa karabāme asaukarya nahi hoeta.
> [Third, in view of the fact that no other modern Indo-Aryan language possesses a grammar written as concisely as that of Sanskrit, the present Maithili grammar, written on the Paṇinian model, would be a positive contribution to the field and would also make language-learning easy.] (Jha 1946: 1)

It should be mentioned in passing that the practice of superimposing the features of Sanskrit on the Maithili grammar tends to distort the facts of Maithili, and even skews the conclusions drawn about it.

D. Jha's (1948) paper presents an interesting account of reduplication in Maithili, and attempts to provide a semantic explanation for all such two-word combinations.

Govind Jha's (1963) *Laghu Vidyotana*, as the title implies, is an abridged and simplified version of the *Vidyotana*.

1.1.2 The Western tradition

The earliest reference to Maithili as a language is found in H. T. Colebrooke's famous essay 'On the Sanscrit and Prācrit languages'[4] (1801). However, serious interest in Maithili language and linguistics began in the early 1880s when Sir George Abraham Grierson and A. F. Rudolf Hoernle published a series of scholarly books and papers on Maithili. In 1880, Hoernle published a book entitled *A comparative grammar of the Gauḍian languages with special reference to eastern Hindi*, in which he treated Maithili as a dialect of Eastern Hindi. Hoernle, however, did recognize the fact that Maithili exhibits more "unmistakable similarities" (1880: VIII) to Bengali and Nepali than to Hindi: "Indeed I am doubtful, whether it is more correct to class the Maithili as a Bengali dialect rather than as an E(astern) H(indi) one".

In 1881, Grierson published *An introduction to the Maithilī language of North Bihār*,[5] Part I "Grammar" (henceforth *Introduction*). The chief merit of the *Introduction* lies in the fact that it accorded Maithili the position of an independent language. The *Introduction* is also the most complete synchronic description of Maithili in English to date. It is divided into four parts: Part I deals with the alphabet and pronunciation; Part II deals with nouns, adjectives, and pronouns; Part III discusses the verb in sufficient detail; and Part IV discusses the "indeclinables", i. e., adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions. The description, however, is based heavily upon Maithili forms obtained from translations of Hindi and Sanskrit forms by "the Pundits, Village School Masters and educated native Gentlemen of Northern Mithila ..." (1881 a: 1). In 1882, Grierson published Part II ('Chrestomathy and vocabulary') of the *Introduction*.

The "Vocabulary" is perhaps the earliest word-list of the Maithili language. In 1883, Grierson's valuable paper "Essays on Bihārī declension and conjugation" (Grierson 1883 a) was published. In "Selected specimens of the Bihārī language", Grierson (1885 a) attempted a sketch of the Maithili grammar based on the texts of two songs ("taken down from the mouths of two itinerant singers in the Nepāl Tarāī ..." 1885 a: 617) – popularly known as the *Gīt Dīnā Bhadrik* and the *Gīt Nebārak*. The major contribution of Grierson, however, lies in the very extensive dialectal survey of what he called "Bihari"[6], published during 1883–87 as the *Seven grammars of the dialects and subdialects of the Bihārī language* (Part I 'Introductory'; Part II 'Bhojpuri dialect'; Part III 'Magadhi dialect'; Part IV 'Maithili–Bhojpuri dialect'; Part V 'South Maithili dialect'; Part VI 'South Maithili–Magadhi dialect'; Part VII 'South Maithili–Bangali dialect'; and Part VIII 'Maithili–Bangali dialect'). During this period Hoernle and Grierson published *A comparative dictionary of the Bihārī language* (Part I 1885; Part II 1889; only two parts published). In 1895, Grierson published two papers (1895 a, b) which also provide significant insights into the grammatical systems of Maithili. A consummate summary of all the major findings was later published as "Indo-European Family, Eastern Group: Bihari and Oriya languages" in Grierson's (1903 [1968]) *Linguistic Survey of India* 5:2.

In spite of Grierson's tireless endeavor to establish Maithili as a language separate from Bengali and Hindi, Kellogg (1893) continues to treat Maithili as a dialect of Hindi. The importance of Kellogg's work, however, lies in the copious illustrations from Maithili, coupled with insightful philological notes.

1.2 Historical

1.2.1 Genetic relationship

Most linguists who have written on the origins and development of Maithili have devoted considerable attention to the question of the genetic relationship between Maithili and the other Indo-Aryan languages. No two investigators, however, agree in their view of this relationship. Prominent among those who have treated the problem are: Grierson (1883 b, 1918, 1919, 1927), Chatterji (1926), J. Mishra (1949), Sh. Jha (1957), S. Jha (1958), G. Jha (1968, 1974), Jeffers (1976), and Thiel-Horstmann (1978).

The earliest classification of the New Indo-Aryan languages is that provided by Grierson (1883 b: figure inserted between pp. 7 and 8), who describes Maithili as a dialect of Bihari – a descendant of the Māgadhī-derived Gaudian language, but quite distinct from the Hindi language.

Later, Grierson (1918, 1919, 1927) stipulated what is now known as the "inner group–outer group"[7] theory of Aryan migration into India, and provided a slightly different grouping of the Indo-Aryan languages. He divided them into three main divisions (i. e., Outer Sub-branch, Mediate Sub-branch, and Inner Sub-branch) and placed Maithili (Bihari) in the Eastern Group of the Outer Sub-branch along with such languages as Oriya, Bengali, and Assamese (Grierson 1927: 120).

Chatterji (1926), like Grierson (1883 b), believes that Maithili belongs to the group of Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa (called Māgadhī Prākrit by Grierson). He was also the first linguist to distinguish Maithili and Bhōjpuriyā (Bhojpuri) as belonging to two branches of the Māgadhan subfamily. Chatterji (1926) observed:

> Bhōjpuriyā somewhat stands apart from its sister speeches, having come under the influence of its western neighbour Awadhī (Ardha-Māgadhī) from very early times ... But the sharp distinction between Bhōjpuriyā and Maithilī-Magadhī in their conjugation would justify their relegation to two separate groups, at least for the modern age. (1926: 92).

Most native Maithili scholars, including J. Mishra (1949), S. Jha (1958), and G. Jha (1968, 1974), seem to go along with Chatterji's (1926) classification, with some minor modifications.[8] Such a classification enables them to emphasize two main points, i. e., that Maithili is not a dialect of Hindi, and that Maithili is not a dialect of Bihari and hence ought not to be grouped with Bhojpuri.

Recently, in a study based on the strict principles of historical and comparative linguistics, Jeffers (1976) has attempted to establish the position of the "Bihari" languages (i. e., Maithili, Magadhi, and Bhojpuri) within the Indo-Aryan family. He concludes that:

> on the basis of the criterion of shared phonological innovation, Bihārī can not be considered a branch of the Eastern group of Indo-Aryan languages which includes Bengali, Assamese, and Oryiā, as has traditionally been assumed. The only phonological innovations which Bihārī shows with languages in its geographic vicinity must be assumed to represent reflexes of phonological changes which affected a large MIA dialect region which incorporates, at least, East and West Hindī, Bihārī, and the Eastern languages. (1976: 224).

More recently, Thiel-Horstmann (1978) has offered some modifications to the phonological systems that underlie Jeffers' (1976) study. She concludes that her finding

> agrees with Jeffers' results ... As for phonological criteria, however, which might be suitable "to posit a Bihārī sub-group within New Indo-Aryan, independent of the Hindī languages on the one hand, and of the Bengali languages on the other" (loc. cit.), I do not consider these to be sufficiently exclusive to Bihari to make the establishment of a Bihari sub-group on phonological grounds stringently necessary.
> For the time being, I would attribute to Bihari an intermediate position in a Midland-Bihari-Eastern continuum. (1976: 80).

For limitations of Jeffers' (1976) and Thiel-Horstmann's (1978) studies, the reader is referred to Yadav (1984 b).

1.2.2 Book-length studies

S. Jha's *The formation of the Maithilī language* was published in 1958. It is the earliest and the most exhaustive diachronic description of Maithili to date. It is divided into 16 chapters: I Introduction; II Phonology-vowels; III Consonants; IV Formative affixes; V Declension of nouns; VI Adjectives; VII Numerals; VIII The pronoun; IX The verb; X The adverb; XI The conjunction; XII The interjection; XIII The reduplicatives; XIV Emphatic forms; XV The syntax; and XVI Maithili semantics. In it, S. Jha has undertaken to trace the history of Maithili from the Old Indo-Aryan period and has labored assiduously to assign Sanskritic etymologies to practically all forms of Maithili. For a contrary view, emphasizing the Santhali (i. e., Munda) influences on Maithili, and for limitations of S. Jha's far-fetched Sanskritic etymologies, the reader is referred to De Vreese (1962, 1968) and Southworth (1961), respectively. The reader is also referred to Yadav (1984 b), wherein it is argued that S. Jha's data on modern Maithili should be used with extreme care and caution for any serious historical as well as phonological research on Maithili.

Ten years later, in 1968, G. Jha's *Maithilīka Udgama O Vikāsa* [Origin and development of Maithili language] appeared. It consists of six chapters: I Introduction; II The sound system; III The vocabulary; IV The noun; V The verb; and VI The adverb, and other particles. It is the first full-length historical account of Maithili written in Maithili, and therefore it deserves our praise and admiration. In 1974, G. Jha's *Maithilī Bhāṣā kā Vikāsa* [Development of the Maithili language] was published. It is

written in Hindi and consists of ten chapters: I The Maithili speaking area and the people; II Indic languages and Maithili; III Historical and dialectal division of Maithili; IV Phonology; V The vocabulary; VI The noun; VII The pronoun; VIII The adjective; IX The verb phrase; and X The syntax. Though elaborate in detail, the work owes much of its information to G. Jha's (1968) study.

Bh. Jha's *Maithilī Bhāṣā: Aitihāsika tathā Bhāṣā-Vaijñānika Vivecana* [Maithili language: historical and linguistic analysis] was published in 1970. There is little in this manual that may be termed original; therefore, nothing further will be said about it.

The 'Introduction' of Chatterji and Misra (1940) also contains numerous insightful observations relating to the growth and history of the Maithili language.

1.3 Pedagogical

Prompted by the intense desire to teach Maithili to students in schools and colleges in north India, native scholars of Maithili have produced a number of textbook grammars. The author knows of six[9] such grammars. These are:

1. R. Jha (1955 [1971]), *Mithilā-Bhāṣā-Prakāśa*
2. B. Jha "Vyathit" (1966 [1981]), *Ādhunika Maithilī Vyākaraṇa O Racanā*
3. D. Jha (1976), *Maithilī Vyākaraṇa evaṁ Racanā*
4. Y. Jha (1979), *Maithilī Vyākaraṇa āora Racanā*
5. Bh. L. Das (n. d.), *Maithilī Subodha Vyākaraṇa*
6. A. Mishra (n. d.), *Mithilābhāṣāka Subodh Vyākaraṇa*

To judge the above works from the point of view of linguistic considerations would be simply unfair. Most of these works have been written with one modest overall aim, i. e., to help beginners to learn Maithili[10], and do not purport to be scholarly studies. However, a few observations on their overriding characteristics may be made:

(i) With the exception of A. Mishra (n. d.) and Bh. L. Das (n. d.), all the works cited above contain information on the art of Maithili composition (e. g., essay writing, letter writing, etc.) over and above the information on aspects of Maithili grammar.

(ii) In spite of Ramanath Jha's (1955 [1971]) firm assertion that there is a total absence of sandhi rules in Maithili ("... *mithilābhāṣāme ehi niyamaka carcā nirarthaka*" – p. 19), all the other works cited above discuss sandhi rules in Maithili. A total of six to fifteen pages (i. e., an average of more than nine pages) are devoted to a discussion of sandhi rules in these works.

(iii) All of the above works discuss prosody and introduce technical terminologies at an early stage of language learning. What is most surprising is that A. Mishra (n. d.) and Bh. L. Das (n. d.), whose books are specifically meant for lower secondary students of grades 6–8, also devote a total of nine pages each to the discussion of prosody.

1.4 Structural/descriptive

1.4.1 Morphology, syntax, and semantics

A systematic synchronic study of the morphology, syntax, and semantics of Maithili according to modern linguistic principles has yet to be carried out. Published materials in this area are therefore few and far between. Below is a brief survey of such studies.

One of the earliest attempts to describe the morphology of the complex verbal system of Maithili was made by G. Jha (1958). In this study, Jha sets out to show that the presence of a multiplicity of optional forms in Maithili verb conjugations does not lead to the conclusion, arrived at by Grierson, that Maithili is probably a "partially cultivated" (1881 a: 50) language. As a matter of fact, Jha takes strong exception to Grierson's phrase "partially cultivated", and goes on to claim (rather than demonstrate) that "all the different forms of [the Maithili] verb have and are used in different shades of meaning" (1958: 169).

G. Jha's *Uccatara Maithilī Vyākaraṇa* [Higher Maithili grammar (henceforth *UMV*)] was published in 1979 by the Maithili Academy, Patna. After Grierson, it is the most noteworthy contribution to the field of Maithili linguistics. Written in Maithili as a textbook for students and teachers at the university level, the *UMV* offers fresh insights into the application of linguistic principles in the analysis of a modern Indo-Aryan language. One wishes on occasion, though, that the author had tried to disengage himself from the shackles of the traditional Sanskritic model of linguistic description.

UMV is divided into eight chapters: I Introduction; II The sound system; III The word (*Padavicāra*); IV The nominal system; V The verb system; VI Word formation (?) (*nāmasādhanika*); VII The adverb, and other particles; and VIII The syntax. It also contains a total of four appendices (pp. 114–127) at the end.

Junghare's (1972) paper analyzes the morphology of the perfect aspect in Marathi, Bhojpuri, and Maithili with an aim to ascertain the genetic relationship among these languages. Her conclusion is that these three languages are indeed genetically related and belong to the Outer Group of Indo-Aryan languages as suggested by Grierson.

In Nepal, linguists from the Summer Institute of Linguistics have published two papers on Maithili syntax, both written in the tagmemic framework (Davis 1973; Williams (1973). These studies, based on the field data collected in a village near the town of Janakpur in the *tarai* of Nepal, make significant contributions to the analysis of Maithili clause and sentence patterns.

The first linguist to describe the syntax and semantics of the Maithili language in the transformational-generative and the relational grammar framework is U. N. Singh (1979 a). Singh's works on Maithili language and linguistics are listed in the *References*.

Y. P. Yadava's (1983) doctoral thesis on movement rules in Maithili (and English) assesses their implications for the theory of government and binding as propounded in the recent writings of Noam Chomsky. Yadava's works are also listed in the *References*.

Mention may also be made of such recent works as B. K. Jha (1984), Mishra–Thakur (1984), Yadav (1985, 1989), D. N. Mishra (1986), M. Yadava (1987), D. N. Yadava (1988), and Stump–Yadav (1988).

1.4.2 Phonetics and phonology

Works on Maithili phonetics and phonology are scarce. S. Jha's (1941) paper is probably the first synchronic study of the phonetics and phonology of Maithili according to the principles of modern descriptive linguistics. In that study, Jha argues for fifty-six "essential" (1941: 435) phonemes of Maithili: to him every grapheme is a phoneme. Later (1958) he discusses the historical development of the Maithili sound system and provides diachronic explanations for the synchronic usage.

G. Jha (1974: 56–119) has also attempted to describe the phonology of Maithili, but his description, like that of S. Jha, is highly traditional

and characterized by overdifferentiation. G. Jha (1979: 3–20), however, provides a much improved account of the phonetics and phonology of Maithili.

The earliest study to describe the sound system of Maithili in the generative-phonology framework is that of Yadav (1976), wherein it is attempted to resolve the unit vs. cluster interpretation of the aspirated consonants of Maithili. Yadav (1984 d) is the first published book-length study of the phonetics and phonology of the Maithili language. It consists of five chapters: I Introduction; II Segmental phonology; III Fiberoptic study of voicing and aspiration; IV Acoustic analysis of oral and nasalized vowels; V Acoustic analysis of word stress. A few other studies which also deserve mention are: Ingemann–Yadav (1978), Yadav (1979 a, b; 1980, 1982, 1984 a, b, c; 1986), and S. K. Jha (1984).

1.5 Dictionaries and lexical studies

If there is one aspect of Maithili linguistic study which has suffered immeasurably from tremendous neglect, it is the lexicographical study of Maithili. As of today no satisfactory Maithili–English, English–Maithili dictionary is available. Mention may however be made of the Maithili–English *Bṛhat Maithilī Śabdakośa* [Comprehensive Maithili dictionary] compiled by Jayakanta Mishra (1973). The only monolingual Maithili dictionary to date is the *Mithilā Bhāṣā Koṣa* of Dinabandhu Jha (Śake 1872/A.D. 1950). This dictionary is not in print, and hardly available.

In spite of this deplorable state of affairs, previous attempts at compiling word lists and dictionaries of Maithili are not lacking. As in the case of grammatical writings on Maithili, two main traditions (i. e., the Western and the native) of lexical studies on Maithili may also be recognized. Below is a brief survey of the main lexicographical works.

1.5.1 The Western tradition

The earliest attempt to compile a word list of the Maithili language was made by Grierson himself. In 1882, Grierson published part II ('Chrestomathy and vocabulary') of *An introduction to the Maithilī language of North Bihār*. This "vocabulary" (pp. 125–260) is perhaps the earliest dictionary of the Maithili language. In Grierson's own words:

> This Vocabulary does not pretend to be a complete dictionary. It contains, I believe, every word and form occurring in the *Chrestomathy* [of the greatest Maithili poet – Vidyāpati], and, besides a large number of words collected by me in the country and in Court, and not hitherto found in dictionaries ... It may claim to be entirely original, and in no way a compilation, not a single meaning having been taken from any dictionary, other than the mouths of the people themselves ... (1882 a: 'Prefatory Note', p. 125)

Grierson continued to labor assiduously and persistently in this venture. He published (Grierson 1884 d) another short word-list of Maithili in the form of an article entitled "Index to Man'bodh's Haribans". The "Index" (1884 d: 37–75) contains all the words occurring in Manabodh's long poem entitled *Haribans* – the text of which Grierson had published (1882 b) and translated into English (1884 c).

Yet another study of the vocabulary of the Maithili language was published by Grierson (1885 a) in his "Selected specimens of the Bihārī language (part 1, The Maithili dialect: The *Gīt Dīnā Bhadrik* and The *Gīt Nebārak*)". Though not a word-list per se, the work lists all the major words occurring in the Maithili songs mentioned in the title and provides their English equivalents.

The most prominent study of Grierson in the fields of lexicography and rural anthropology is his *Bihar peasant life*, which was first published in 1885 (second and revised edition in 1926). The work professes to be a "catalogue of the names used by the Bihar peasant for the things surrounding him in his daily life" ("Introduction", p. 1), but in fact offers much more than that. It provides detailed descriptions (with graphic illustrations) of regional variations of the terms for agricultural implements, appliances and operations, domestic furniture, clothes, ornaments, soils, agricultural products and the insects which injure the crops, agricultural times and seasons, labor advances and wages, land tenures, the house, the food, rural ceremonies and superstitions, trade and money dealings, and weights and measures. An accurate dictionary of rural life, *Bihar peasant life* is also a veritable contribution to the study of three dialects, including Maithili, of "Bihari".

Hoernle–Grierson (1885, 1889) attempted to compile an ambitious comparative dictionary of the "Bihari" language. It was entitled *A comparative dictionary of the Bihārī language*. Part I (1885) of the *Dictionary* contains elaborate information on such important aspects as the system of transliteration and spelling, alphabetical order, phonetic characteris-

tics, grammatical features, *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words, historical and genetic affinities, and so on. Part II (1889) comprises the actual dictionary and contains words beginning with the *a* [ə] – the last entry in the dictionary being *añjulī*. Only two parts of the *Dictionary* were published.

In 1973, the SIL linguists resident in Nepal published a vocabulary count of languages of India and Nepal, including Maithili. It is called *Word lists* (Trail 1973), and it contains about 1700 words of Maithili. The *Word lists* can be a useful tool for comparative linguistic study of the languages of India and Nepal.

The latest and the most notable contribution to the field of Maithili lexicography is Davis's (1984) *Basic colloquial Maithili: A Maithili–Nepali–English vocabulary* (henceforth *BCM*). *BCM* is a trilingual Maithili–Nepali–English dictionary. It contains a total of 2700 Maithili entries listed under "Vocabulary" (pp. 1–107), followed by insightful observations on Maithili grammar under "Structure notes" (pp. 108–140). The "Appendices" (pp. 141–149) provide information on numerals, time words, kinship terms, and words dealing with weights and measures. Finally, under "Nepali index" (pp. 151–187) and "English index" (pp. 188–242), the Nepali and English vocabulary items are cross-referenced to the main Maithili entries.

The chief merit of *BCM* lies in the fact that the presentation of a Maithili entry typically provides information of the following types: (i) Maithili headword; (ii) alternate spelling(s); (iii) Pronunciation (if different from the spelling); (iv) parts of speech label; (v) Nepali equivalent(s); (vi) English equivalent(s); and (vii) subentry.

1.5.2 The native tradition

One of the earliest contributions to the field of Maithili lexicography by a native scholar was made by S. Jha. In 1939–40, Jha published a short paper entitled "Maithili equivalents to vernacular words found in Sarvānanda's Commentary on Amarkośa", in which he listed about 170 such "equivalent" words of early and modern Maithili and also provided their English translations. Sen (1940–44 [1965]) also lists a few Maithili words occurring in Caṇḍeśvara's *Gṛhastharatnākara* (a work of the 14th century) along with their English equivalents.

The publication of Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekharācārya's *Varṇa-Ratnākara* (Chatterji–Mistra 1940) provided a positive impetus not only to the linguistic study of Maithili as an old literary language but also to the study

of Maithili lexicography. The *Varṇa-Ratnākara* is the oldest written text of the Maithili language. It dates back to the early 14th century and is preserved in a manuscript copied in 1507. It is a prose text written in the Mithilākṣara script. In the words of Chatterji (Chatterji–Misra 1940), the text is:

> a sort of lexicon of vernacular and Sanskrit terms, a repository of literary similes and conventions dealing with the various things in the world and ideas which are usually treated in poetry. We have in it either bare lists of terms, or the similes and conventions are set in the framework of a number of descriptions (1940: xxi)

Dinabandhu Jha's (Śake 1872/A.D. 1950) *Mithilā Bhāṣā Koṣa* [Maithili dictionary] remains to this day the single most valuable contribution to the field of Maithili lexicography. A monolingual dictionary of 355 (+ 60 "Introduction" + 2 "Corrigenda") pages, the *Mithilā Bhāṣā Koṣa* contains a total of about 12,605 entries. The "Introduction" (pp. 1–60) contains valuable information on such topics as orthographical peculiarities, vocabulary, and grammatical features of Maithili.

As has been remarked above, this dictionary is out of print and deserves to be reprinted.

About twenty-five years later, the Royal Nepal Academy (V.S. 2030/A.D. 1973–74) published a *Paryāyavācī Śabdakośa* [Synoptic dictionary] of 14 languages of Nepal, including Maithili.

A very significant contribution to the field of Maithili lexicography was made by Jayakanta Mishra. In 1973, Mishra published the *Bṛhat Maithilī Śabdakośa* [Comprehensive Maithili dictionary]. The Maithili–English dictionary is significant in that it provides head words both in the Mithilākṣara and Devanagari scripts, and offers ample information on such aspects of lexicography as grammatical feature, borrowing, etymology, and illustration of the "first use" of the head word as well as its current meaning. The head word is also transliterated into the Roman alphabet and its most representative meaning in English is provided at the end of the entry.

Only one of the proposed eleven fascicles of the *Bṛhat Maithilī Śabdakośa* has been published thus far. It is hoped that others will be published soon. The first fascicle contains all the words of Maithili beginning with the first element *a* [ə] – the last entry in the dictionary being *aśakuna* 'ill-omen' (Mishra 173: 200).

Chapter two
Sound system and script

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter we will present a brief sketch of the segmental phonology of Maithili and will describe the consonants and vowels and their phonotactic behavior (sections 2.1–2.5). Section 2.6 is devoted to a brief discussion of the suprasegmental features of stress and intonation. The account of segmental phonology and stress is based rather closely on the author's earlier works on Maithili phonetics and phonology – in particular Yadav (1976) and chapter two of Yadav (1984 d). Section 2.7 deals with morphophonemic alternations, while 2.8 is devoted to a discussion of the peculiarities of the Maithili writing system.

2.1 Inventory of Maithili phonemes

The inventory of Maithili phonemes is set forth in traditional segmental notation in Table 2.1. As shown in this table, there are 26 consonant phonemes and 8 oral vowel phonemes in Maithili. All vowels can be nasalized underlyingly – thus increasing the number of vowel phonemes to 16. All underlying segments also surface as phonetic segments. Phonemes enclosed in parentheses in Table 2.1 are marginal and will be specifically commented on in appropriate places.

2.2 Vowels

The eight oral vowels in Maithili are: /i/ high front, /e/ mid front, /æ/ low front, /ə/ mid central, /a/ low central, /u/ high back, /o/ mid back, and /ɔ/ low back. Lip rounding is not distinctive in Maithili; only the back vowels are rounded. Length is also not distinctive in Maithili – although the Devanagari script in which Maithili is now written does provide separate graphemes for long and short vowel phonemes.

Table 2.1. Inventory of Maithili phonemes

Consonants	Bilabial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p	t	ṭ		k	
	ph	th	ṭh		kh	
	b	d	ḍ		g	
	bh	dh	ḍh		gh	
Affricates				c		
				ch		
				j		
				jh		
Nasals	m	n	(ṇ)		(ŋ)	
Tap		r	(ṛ)			
Fricatives		s	(ṣ)	(š)		h
Lateral		l				
Approximants	(w)			(y)		

Vowels	Front	Central	Back	
High	i		u	
Mid	e	ə	o	+/− ~ (nasalization)
Low	æ	a	ɔ	

2.2.1 Front vowels

The phonological opposition between the front vowels /i e æ/ is shown below:

Initial		Medial		Final	
/i/	'this'	/pit/	'anger'	/ki/	'what'
/ek/	'one'	/per/	'tree'	/ke/	'who'
/æb/	'defect'	/pær/	'leg'	/gæ/	'cow'
/ˈiswər/	'God'	/ṭhik/	'true'	/bhæ/	'brother'
/ˈekər/	'his(NH)'	/gen/	'ball'	/mæ/	'mother'

Of the front vowels, /æ/ is the least common. Furthermore, in some dialects, /æ/ is diphthongized as [əĕ], [aĕ], or [aĭ], e. g.,

/æs/	[əĕs]	'luxury'
/æb/	[əĕb]	'defect'
/pær/	[pəĕr]	'leg'
/mæ/	[maĕ]	'mother'

/bhæ/	[bhaĭ]	'brother'
/gæ/	[gaĭ]	'cow'

2.2.2 Central vowels

The phonological contrast between the central vowels /ə a/ is exemplified below:

Initial		Medial		Final	
/ən/	'grain'	/kəl/	'machine'	/ˈkərə/	'do (IMP)'
/an/	'bring!'	/kal/	'time'	/ˈkəra/	'hard'
/əṛ/	'stick (to it)!'	/phər/	'fruit'	/ˈpərə/	'fall (IMP)'
/as/	'hope'	/phar/	'plowshare'	/ˈpəra/	'he buffalo'

/ə/ occurs primarily in non-initial positions. In the final position it appears mainly in the imperative construction where it is a contracted form of the verbal agreement affix *-əh* for 2MH (see chapter 6 for more information). It is worth noting here that the traditional descriptions of Maithili (and of other Indo-Aryan languages) transcribe all final consonants as if they were followed by a schwa /ə/, e. g., /kal/ is written as ⟨kalə⟩. There is no empirical reason for continuing to do so, since these "inherent vowels" were dropped centuries ago (for a detailed analysis see also Yadav 1984 b).

2.2.3 Back vowels

The back vowels /u o ɔ/ are rounded and show phonological opposition in all positions, e. g.,

Initial		Medial		Final	
/us/	'whitener'	/kus/	'a kind of grass used for worship'	/ˈsuru/	'beginning'
/os/	'frost'	/kos/	'two miles'	/ˈnacu/	'dance (IMP)'
/orh/	'cover (IMP)'	/lor/	'tears'	/ˈkoro/	'bamboo pole used in a thatched house'
/ɔrh/	'out of sight'	/lɔr/	'male organ'	/ˈsərɔ/	'wrestling'

/ˈotə/	'there'	/bhoj/	'feast'	/ho/	'become (IMP)'
/ˈɔtah/	'will come (3H)'	/phɔj/	'army'	/hɔ/	'whoa!'

Of the back vowels, /ɔ/ is the least common – especially in the final position. Also, in some dialects, /ɔ/ varies with /o/ and /əu/, e. g.,

[ˈsərɔ]	~	[ˈsəro]	'wrestling'
[ˈɔtah]	~	[ˈəutah]	'will come'
[kɔr]	~	[kor]	'morsel'

2.2.4 High vowels

The high vowels /i u/ contrast in all positions, e. g.,

Initial		Medial		Final	
/iˈnar/	'well'	/mit/	'friend'	/ˈtari/	'palm wine'
/uˈnar/	'unbalanced'	/mut/	'urine'	/ˈdaru/	'wine'
/ˈisər/	'God'	/bəˈhir/	'deaf'	/ˈpisi/	'father's sister'
/ˈusər/	'fallow'	/ˈbəhut/	'a lot'	/ˈpisu/	'grind (IMP)'

2.2.5 Mid vowels

The mid vowels /e ə o/ show phonological contrast in all positions. Examples are given below:

Initial		Medial		Final	
/ˈena/	'like this'	/khet/	'field'	/he/	'a vocative form used for God'
/ˈona/	'like that'	/khət/	'mark'	/hə/	'Oh!'
/ˈəna/	'a coin denomination'	/khod/	'dig (IMP)'	/ho/	'become!'

2.2.6 Low vowels

The low vowels /æ a ɔ/ show phonological contrasts as exemplified below:

Initial		Medial		Final	
/æs/	'luxury'	/pær/	'leg'	/bhæ/	'brother'
/as/	'hope'	/par/	'across'	/ba/	'open (IMP)'
/ɔrh/	'out of sight'	/ˈhɔda/	'elephant seat'	/bhɔ/	'pretension'

2.2.7 Diphthongs

Most traditional accounts of Maithili posit *əi* and *əu* (but not *ai* and *au*, for example) as underlying diphthongs. Such a practice is at its best arbitrary, and is heavily influenced by the orthography, which does provide separate letters for these two sounds.

The process of diphthongization in Maithili is closely related to vowel clustering (discussed in 2.5). There follows a brief account of the process of phonetic diphthongization.

Most diphthongs in Maithili are rising diphthongs, i. e., they end in high vowels *i* and *u*:

[əi]	[ˈəilha]	'mole'
	[məil]	'dirt'
	[ləi]	'paste'
[əu]	[ˈəutah]	'will come (3H)'
	[bəuk]	'dumb'
	[rəu]	'vocative (2NH)'
[ai]	[ai]	'today'
	[kailh]	'yesterday; tomorrow'
	[bhai]	'brother'
[au]	[au]	'come (IMP, 2H)'
	[jaut]	'husband's brother's son'
	[lau]	'bring (IMP, 2H)'
[oi]	[oi ṭham]	'at that place'
	[ˈkoili]	'cuckoo'
	[koi]	'any person'
[ui]	[uiṭh jau]	'please arise'
	[buir]	'vagina'
	[sui]	'needle'
[iu]	[ˈpiusi]	'father's sister'
	[ghiu]	'ghee'
[ou]	[hou]	'become (IMP, 2H)'
[eu]	[ˈḍeuṛhi]	'court'

Note that *ou* and *eu* are extremely defective diphthongs, and it is very difficult to come up with more examples illustrating them.

Vowel clusters ending in mid vowels *e* and *o* also diphthongize, e. g.,

[pəer]	'leg'
[khaet]	'will eat (3NH)'
[ˈhoetah]	'will become (3H)'
[laot]	'will bring (3NH)'

There are, however, constraints on diphthongization. Thus, for example, the front and back low vowels do not participate in the process of diphthongization. Consequently, such diphthongs as **æi*, **æu*, **ɔi*, and **ɔu* are not permissible in Maithili.

The front mid vowel *e* does not form a vowel cluster with the front high vowel *i* following; thus, a diphthong such as **ei* is not permissible in Maithili.

High vowels do not diphthongize with the same high vowels; in other words, such diphthongs as **ii*, **uu* are not allowed in Maithili.

Finally, no centralizing diphthongs are permissible in Maithili. All vowel clusters which end in central vowels *ə* and *a* allow the insertion of glides homorganic with the preceding vowel between them, e. g.,

[ˈdiə]	~	[ˈdiyə]	'give (IMP, 2H + 1)'
[ˈkəhiəuk]	~	[ˈkəhiyəuk]	'tell (IMP, 2H + 3NH)'
[ˈbəua]	~	[ˈbəuwa]	'child'
[piˈaeb]	~	[piˈyaeb]	'cause to drink'
[ˈhoə]	~	[ˈhowə]	'to become'

2.2.8 Nasalized vowels

Vowel nasality is distinctive in Maithili. The contrast between oral and nasalized vowels is shown below:

Initial

/is/	'expression of pain'	/uṭh/	'arise'
/ĩṭ/	'brick'	/ũṭ/	'camel'
/ek/	'one'	/o/	'he'
/ẽr/	'heel'	/õ/	'a groaning sound'
/æb/	'defect'	/ˈɔtah/	'will come (3H)'
/æ̃/	'what!'	/ˈəũṭəl/	'boiled'
/ˈəhi/	'only this'	/as/	'hope'
/ˈə̃hĩ/	'only you (H)'	/ãṭ/	'courage'

Medial

/chiṭ/	'scatter'	/'kəṭhgər/	'hard'
/chĩṭ/	'a dyed garment'	/'kə̃ṭgər/	'thorny'
/khet/	'field'	/bas/	'shelter'
/kẽt/	'cane'	/bãs/	'bamboo'
/ghor/	'a yoghurt drink'	/lɔt/	'skewed'
/ghõṭ/	'swallow'	/gɔ̃t/	'(cattle) urine'
/'cura/	'flat rice'		
/'sũra/	'grain bug'		

Final

/'kəhi/	'say (IMP, 2NH + 3NH)'	/kə'ha/	'cause to say'
/'kəhĩ/	'what if'	/kə'hã/	'where'
/'kəhu/	'say (IMP, 2H)'	/hə/	'Oh!'
/'kəhũ/	'somewhere'	/hə̃/	'yes!'
/sæ/	'thus'	/bhɔ/	'pretense'
/sæ̃/	'husband'	/bhɔ̃/	'eyebrow'
/kho/	'eat (IMP, 2NH)'	/re/	'vocative (3NH)'
/khõ khõ/	'cough'	/'pærẽ/	'by foot'

Also, all vowels are phonetically nasalized when contiguous with a nasal consonant, e. g.,

/mit/	[mĩt]	'friend'	/sim/	[sĩm]	'green beans'
/mut/	[mũt]	'urine'	/ghum/	[ghũm]	'turn'
/meṭ/	[mẽṭ]	'erase'	/gen/	[gẽn]	'ball'
/mɔt/	[mɔ̃t]	'death'	/gɔn/	[gɔ̃n]	'secondary'
/nek/	[nẽk]	'honest'	/gan/	[gãn]	'song'
/nuk/	[nũk]	'hide'	/un/	[ũn]	'wool'
/nak/	[nãk]	'nose'	/ban/	[bãn]	'arrow'
/nok/	[nõk]	'edge'	/kon/	[kõn]	'angle'
/nik/	[nĩk]	'good'	/tin/	[tĩn]	'three'
/'nəsa/	['nə̃sa]	'intoxication'	/dhən/	[dhə̃n]	'wealth'
/'məsla/	['mə̃sla]	'spices'	/həm/	[hə̃m]	'I'

Occasionally, vowel nasalization also occurs across the syllable boundary:

[tõ + hi]	→	['tõhĩ]	'only you'
[tõ + hu]	→	['tõhũ]	'even you'
[hə̃m + hi]	→	['hə̃mhĩ]	'only I'
[hə̃m + hu]	→	['hə̃mhũ]	'even I'

2.3 Consonants

Maithili stops, like those of most Indo-Aryan languages, show a four-way contrast between voiced and voiceless and aspirated and unaspirated at bilabial, dental, retroflex, palatal, and velar places of articulation. Phonologically, affricates also behave like stops. Phonetically the taps, laterals, and nasals also show a two-way contrast between aspirated and unaspirated. Aspiration, thus, is an overriding characteristic of the Maithili sound system.

2.3.1 Stops

Bilabials: the bilabial stops /p ph b bh/ show the contrast between voiced and voiceless and aspirated and unaspirated in all positions, e. g.,

Initial		Medial		Final	
/pul/	'bridge'	/'nəpa/	'measurement'	/sãp/	'snake'
/phul/	'flower'	/'nəpha/	'profit'	/saph/	'clean'
/bul/	'walk'	/'səbək/	'lesson'	/khep/	'times'
/bhul/	'forget'	/'səbhək/	'of all'	/kheb/	'sail'
				/khebh/	'plant seeds'

Dentals: the dental stops /t th d dh/ too show phonological oppositions in all positions. Examples:

Initial		Medial		Final	
/tan/	'music'	/'poti/	'granddaughter'	/bat/	'talk'
/than/	'yards of cloth'	/'pothi/	'book'	/bath/	'pain'
/dan/	'charity'	/u'dar/	'generous'	/bad/	'after'
/dhan/	'paddy'	/u'dhar/	'credit'	/badh/	'out in the fields'

Retroflex: the retroflex stops /ṭ ṭh/ show full contrast in all positions, while /ḍ ḍh/ show phonological opposition mainly word-initially:

Initial		Medial		Final	
/ṭik/	'pigtail'	/'kəṭgər/	'shapely'	/kaṭ/	'cut'
/ṭhik/	'true'	/'kəṭhgər/	'hard'	/kaṭh/	'wood'
/ḍol/	'small bucket'			/ḍãṭ/	'scold'
/ḍhol/	'drum'			/ḍhaṭh/	'fence'

/ḍ/ and /ḍh/ are both defective phonemes, occurring intervocalically and word-finally only if preceded by a nasal consonant, which is usually assimilated to the retroflex place of articulation of /ḍ/ and /ḍh/.

Medial

/'ənḍa/	['əṇḍa]	~	['ənḍa]	'egg'
/'ṭhənḍha/	['ṭhəṇḍha]	~	[ṭhənḍha]	'cold'

Examples of /ḍ/ in final position are:

/ḍənḍ/	[ḍəṇḍ]	~	[ḍənḍ]	'punishment'
/khənḍ/	[khəṇḍ]	~	[khənḍ]	'piece'
/kanḍ/	[kaṇḍ]	~	[kanḍ]	'canto'

Word-finally and postvocalically /ḍh/ surfaces as [ṛh] or [rh], e. g.,

/sãḍh/	[sãṛh]	~	[sãrh]	'bull'
/pəḍh/	[pəṛh]	~	[pərh]	'read'
/'piḍhi/	['piṛhi]	~	['pirhi]	'generation'
/'bəḍhəl/	['bəṛhəl]	~	['bərhəl]	'grown'
/'bəḍhtəik/	['bəṛhtəik]	~	['bərhtəik]	'will grow (3NH)'

Palatals: the affricates /c ch j jh/, like stops, show full phonological contrast in all positions. Examples:

Initial		Medial		Final	
/cor/	'thief'	/ə̃'car/	'pickle'	/bic/	'center'
/chor/	'edge'	/ə'char/	'shower'	/bich/	'pick up'
/jor/	'strength'	/'bajəl/	'spoken'	/bij/	'seed'
/jhor/	'soup'	/'bajhəl/	'entangled'	/bijh/	'rust'

Velars: the velar stops /k kh g gh/ also show full contrast in all positions, e. g.,

Initial		Medial		Final	
/kam/	'work'	/'kəkri/	'a fruit'	/bik/	'sell'
/kham/	'pole'	/'khəkhri/	'paddy without rice'	/bikh/	'poison'
/gam/	'village'	/'gəgri/	'small pitcher'	/bag/	'garden'
/gham/	'sweat'	/'ghəghri/	'skirt'	/bagh/	'tiger'

2.3.2 Nasals

The phonological opposition between the nasals /m n/ is exemplified by the examples given below:

Initial		Medial		Final	
/mam/	'mother's brother'	/'nami/	'famous'	/kam/	'job'
/nam/	'name'	/'nani/	'mother's mother'	/kan/	'ear'
/mem/	'madam'	/kə'ma/	'earn (IMP)'	/sim/	'green beans'
/nem/	'conduct'	/kə'na/	'cause to weep'	/sin/	'frost'
				/tam/	'copper'
				/tan/	'pull'

The velar nasal [ŋ], as in most languages, occurs only non-initially and is followed by a homorganic stop, which if voiced and non-final may be deleted in some dialects: The voiced stop is always deleted in the final position. Examples:

Medial

/'jəngəl/	['jəŋgəl]	~	['jəŋəl]	'forest'
/'jəngəli/	['jəŋgli]	~	['jəŋli]	'wild'
/'ləngra/	['ləŋgra]	~	['ləŋra]	'lame'
/'kəngna/	['kəŋgna]	~	['kəŋna]	'bangles'
/'kənghi/	['kəŋghi]	~	['kəŋhi]	'comb'
/sin'gar/	[siŋ'gar]	~	[si'ŋar]	'decoration'
/kən'gal/	[kəŋ'gal]	~	[kə'ŋal]	'destitute'
/'lungi/	['luŋgi]	~	['luŋi]	'a dress'
/'pənkha/	['pəŋkha]	'fan'		
/'ḍənka/	['ḍəŋka]	'huge drum'		
/'sənka/	['səŋka]	'doubt'		

Final

/pənkh/	[pəŋkh]	'wings'
/ənk/	[əŋk]	'number'
/ang/	[aŋ]	'body'
/ṭang/	[ṭaŋ]	'leg'
/bhang/	[bhaŋ]	'a marijuana-type plant'
/mung/	[muŋ]	'a lentil'

The retroflex nasal [ṇ] also occurs only before /ḍ/ (except in highly literary styles in a few borrowed words, to be shown below). Examples are given below:

Medial

/'ənḍa/	['əṇḍa]	~	[ənḍa]	'egg'
/'ṭhənḍha/	['ṭhəṇḍha]	~	['ṭhənḍha]	'cool'
/'ḍənḍa/	['ḍəṇḍa]	~	['ḍənḍa]	'heavy staff'
/ḍənḍ/	[ḍəṇḍ]	~	[ḍənḍ]	'punishment'
/kanḍ/	[kaṇḍ]	~	[kanḍ]	'canto'

The position taken in this study is that the velar nasal [ŋ] and the retroflex [ṇ] should be derived from underlying /n/ – before a velar stop and a retroflex stop, respectively. The surface forms containing retroflex nasal [ṇ] in the above examples are derived after a regressive assimilation has occurred.

Note should also be taken of the fact that Maithili has borrowed extensively from Sanskrit – either directly, or indirectly through Hindi. Most educated speakers of Maithili also tend to know Hindi and Sanskrit. All this has had a curious impact upon the phonology of Maithili. In literate and educated varieties of speech, for instance, the native speakers of Maithili tend to retain the original pronunciation of the borrowed words. In less literary styles, however, they abandon it. This is highly evident in the variation that occurs, for instance, between the retroflex nasal [ṇ] and the dental nasal [n] as shown above. A few more examples of such a variation in word-final position are given below:

[baṇ]	~	[ban]	'arrow'
[praṇ]	~	[pran]	'life'
[koṇ]	~	[kon]	'angle'

2.3.3 Liquids

The liquids, i. e., tap and lateral, /r l/, like the stops, show full phonological opposition in all positions, e. g.,

Initial		Medial		Final	
/rer/	'crowd'	/'piri/	'elevated mass of clay used for worship'	/cir/	'a garment'
/ler/	'saliva'	/'pili/	'(I) drank'	/cil/	'eagle'
/ret/	'sand'	/'baru/	'light (IMP, 2H)'	/bər/	'bridegroom'
/let/	'will take (3NH)'	'balu/	'sand'	/bəl/	'strength'

/rog/	'disease'	/cə'ra/	'cause to graze'	/lar/	'straw'
/log/	'people'	/cə'la/	'cause to move'	/lal/	'red'

On the pattern of the treatment suggested above for the retroflex nasal, the retroflex flap [ṛ] also is not treated as a phoneme in this study. The variation between the retroflex flap [ṛ] and the dental tap [r] is illustrated below:

['kəṛa]	~	['kəra]	'hard'
[maṛ]	~	[mar]	'liquid accompanying boiled rice'
[bəṛ]	~	[bər]	'a fig tree'
[pə'haṛ]	~	[pə'har]	'mountain'

In colloquial styles, the use of the retroflex flap [ṛ] is virtually nonexistent.

2.3.4 Fricatives

The fricatives /s h/ also show full phonological opposition in all positions, e. g.,

Initial		Medial	
/saṭ/	'paste (IMP)'	/pə'sar/	'spread'
/haṭ/	'market'	/pə'har/	'mountain'
/sath/	'with'	/'kəsu/	'tighten (IMP, 2H)'
/hath/	'hand'	/'kəhu/	'say (IMP, 2H)'
/sar/	'wife's brother'	/pə'sin/	'liking'
/har/	'garland'	/pə'hin/	'wear'

Final

/bas/	'habitation'
/bah/	'bravo!'
/cas/	'a certain style of ploughing'
/cah/	'tea'
/ghas/	'grass'
/ghah/	'wound'
/kəs/	'tighten (IMP, 2NH)'
/kəh/	'say (IMP, 2NH)'
/rəs/	'juice'
/rəh/	'stay (IMP, 2NH)'

The marginal phonemes [ṣ] and [š], which are represented by two separate

graphemes in the orthography, are universally replaced by a dental fricative [s] in almost all styles of pronunciation. Their variation is illustrated below:

[šəbd]	~	[səbd]	'word'
['šawas]	~	['sabas]	'bravo'
[kəṣṭ]	~	[kəsṭ]	'pain'
[koṣ]	~	[kos]	'treasury'
[hoš]	~	[hos]	'sense'

2.3.5 Approximants

The approximants [w y] are retained only in highly literary varieties of Maithili which make copious use of borrowed words of Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic origin. Otherwise, they show considerable variation, as is shown below.

[y]: most words of Sanskrit origin show alternation between [y] and [j] word-initially. Thus,

[yəš]	~	[jəs]	'fame'
['yədi]	~	['jədi]	'if'
['yadəb]	~	['jadəb]	'Yadav'
['yatra]	~	['jatra]	'travel',

but not in the following words of Perso-Arabic origin:

[yar]	~	*[jar]	'lover; friend'
['yari]	~	*['jari]	'friendship'

However, [yar] and ['yari] may alternate with [i'ar] and [i'ari] in some pronunciations. A few borrowed Sanskrit words in which [y] occurs between [r] and the central vowels [ə a] also show the [y] ~ [j] alternation, e. g.,

['tatpərya]	~	['tatpərj]			'purpose'
['karyə]	~	['karj]	~	['karəj]	'work'
['suryə]	~	[surj]	~	['suruj]	'sun'
['cərya]	~	['cərja]			'routine'

In intervocalic positions, [y] shows the following type of alternation:

['səməyə]	~	['səməe]	'time'
['ayə]	~	[ae]	'income'
['bhəyə]	~	[bhəe]	'fear'
['priyə]	~	['priye]	'dear'

Finally, as has been noted in 2.2.7, the presence of [y] may be due to glide formation, e. g.,

['kəria]	~	['kəriya]	'black'
['bəṛhiã]	~	['bəṛhiyã]	'nice'
['diə]	~	['diyə]	'give (IMP, 2H + 1)'
['kəhiəh]	~	['kəhiyəh]	'say (IMP, 2MH + 1)'

[w]: like [y], [w] alternates with [b] in most borrowed words, e. g.,

['həwa]	~	['həba]	'wind'			
['widya]	~	['bidya]	~	['bidia]	~	['bidiya] 'learning'
['nəwə]	~	[nəb]	'new'			
['šawas]	~	['sabas]	'bravo!'			
[gə'wah]	~	[gə'bah]	'witness'			
[be'wasta]	~	[be'basta]	'carelessness'			

[w] alternates with [o] word-initially in most non-Sanskritic words, e. g.,

[wə'kil]	~	[o'kil]	'pleader'
['wəjən]	~	['ojən]	'weight'
['wəjəh]	~	['ojəh]	'reason'

Finally, as has been noted in 2.2.7, the presence of [w] may be explainable in terms of glide insertion:

['khoa]	~	['khowa]	'milk cream'
['jua]	~	['juwa]	'gambling'
['kəua]	~	['kəuwa]	'crow'
['ḍhəua]	~	['ḍhəuwa]	'money'

For the above reasons the approximants [w y] are not treated as underlying phonemes in this study.

2.3.6 Unit versus cluster

In section 2.3 above it was noted that Maithili resonants (i. e., nasals, taps, and laterals) also show a two-way phonetic contrast between aspi-

rated and unaspirated. Below, it will be argued that the phonetically aspirated resonants should be treated as clusters rather than units on grounds of their distributional and syllabificational constraints.

Distributional constraints: as shown in section 2.3.1, Maithili stops and affricates show complete phonological contrasts in all positions. The resonants, however, do not. Only unaspirated resonants occur initially, and medially aspirated resonants and resonants + *h* alternate with one another. Examples are given below:

[bə'r^{h}a]	~	[bər'ha]	~	[bə'ṛha]	'cause to move'
['kəl^{h}a]	~	['kəlha]			'adulterated (oil)'
['kən^{h}ã]	~	['kənhã]			'shoulder'
['jim^{h}ər]	~	['jimhər]			'a kind of tree'

In the final position, Maithili resonants do show a contrast between the aspirated and unaspirated. However, it should be noted that such surface contrast between an aspirated and an unaspirated resonant is maintained mostly in those cases in which merger of minimal pairs would cause semantic merger and thereby increase homophony. Examples:

[kanh]			'shoulder'
[kan]			'ear'
[bəṛh]	~	[bərh]	'grow'
[bər]			'bridegroom'

The aspirated lateral and the aspirated bilabial nasal show free variation with their unaspirated counterparts in word-final positions:

[kailh]	~	[kail]	'tomorrow; yesterday'
[khamh]	~	[kham]	'pole'

Syllabificational constraints: syllable boundaries clearly demonstrate that the Maithili stop + *h* and affricate + *h* segments cannot be separated to form part of more than one syllable, and hence ought to be treated as units. Consider the following examples ($ = syllable boundary):

['li$khəl]	'written; fated'
*['lik$həl]	
[bo$'khar]	'fever'
*[bok$'har]	
['khəbh$ra]	'ditch'
*['khəb$hra]	
[kə$'ṭhal]	'name of a village'
*[kəṭ$'hal]	
['bhoth$gər]	'blunt'
*['bhot$hgər]	
['ka$chi]	'tight underwear'
*['kac$hi]	
['jhən$jhəṭ]	'worry about too much work'
*['jhənj$həṭ]	
['pa$thər]	'stone'
*['pat$hər]	
[a$'dhar]	'basis'
*[ad$'har]	
['ghə$ghri]	'skirt'
*['ghəg$hri]	
['gə$pha]	'space between two fingers'
*['gəp$ha]	
[ə$'sər$phi]	'gold coin'
*[ə$'sərp$hi]	

The resonant + *h* segments, which also surface as aspirated with syllable divisions like stops, however, have a syllable boundary between the two segments. Examples:

[nə$'ṛ^{h}er]	~	[nəṛ$'her]	~	[nər$'her]	'vagabond'
['khə$m^{h}ã]	~	['khəm$hã]			'pole'
['kə$n^{h}ã]	~	['kən$hã]			'shoulder'
['pi$l^{h}i]	~	['pil$hi]			'jaundice'
['kə$1^{h}a]	~	['kəl$ha]			'adulterated (oil)'

Thus, the system of constraints that operates syllabic division suggests that the Maithili resonant + *h* segments ought to be treated as clusters rather than as units. Such an analysis also appeals to the intuition of a native speaker.

2.3.7 Gemination

Gemination is an important characteristic of the Maithili consonant system. It is, however, phonetically conditioned, occurring only intervocali-

cally where the preceding vowel (usually but not universally a schwa ə) is stressed. Such geminate consonants are in free variation with non-geminate consonants in similar environments. Examples are given below:

['pətta]	~	['pəta]	'leaf'
['pəṭṭha]	~	['pəṭha]	'strong'
['bəcca]	~	['bəca]	'child'
['gədda]	~	['gəda]	'heavy staff'
['rəggər]	~	['rəgər]	'obstinacy'
['kəṭṭha]	~	['kəṭha]	'a form of land measurement'
['həttha]	~	['hətha]	'bunch of bananas'
['məcchəṛ]	~	['məchəṛ]	'mosquito'
['sukkha]	~	['sukha]	'draught'
['kəmmər]	~	['kəmər]	'blanket'
['rəssa]	~	['rəsa]	'rope'
['bərre]	~	['bəre]	'pimple'
['həlla]	~	['həla]	'noise'
['ḍibba]	~	['ḍiba]	'small can'
['ijjət]	~	['ijət]	'prestige'
['kurra]	~	['kura]	'gargle'
['murrhi]	~	['murhi]	'rice pops'

In the present study, these segments have been arbitrarily treated as clusters rather than units. A rule of phonetic gemination in Maithili may look like the following:

$$C_i \rightarrow C_iC_i / V_{[+\ \mathrm{stress}]} - V$$

This rule says that in Maithili a consonant is geminated intervocalically only if the preceding vowel is stressed. In those instances where the succeeding vowel is stressed, gemination never occurs, e. g.,

[nə'pa]	'cause to measure'
*[nə'ppa]	
[pə'ṭha]	'cause to send'
*[pə'ṭṭha]	
[gi'ra]	'cause to fall'
*[gi'rra]	
[hə'la]	'cause to deepen'
*[hə'lla]	
[lə'da]	'cause to load'
*[lə'dda]	

[pə'ka]	'cause to ripen'
*[pə'kka]	

The above, however, is only a tentative account; further investigation is needed.

2.4 Consonant clusters

The use of consonant clusters, especially in initial and final positions, denotes a marked degree of formality and the speaker's knowledge of languages like Sanskrit, Hindi-Urdu, and English. Uneducated speakers of Maithili use the least number of clusters.

Maithili consonant clusters are shown in Tables 2.2–4. The following subsections list each cluster observed (some rare clusters may have been inadvertently omitted). Examples of words containing consonant clusters are given in broad phonetic transcription which does not always represent the actual pronunciation. The rules required to derive the surface phonetic forms are not discussed in this study.

2.4.1 Initial consonant clusters

Two-consonant clusters

Stop + resonant

pr-	*pran*	'life'
br-	*bramhən*	'brahmin'
bhr-	*bhrəsṭ*	'corrupt'
tr-	*tran*	'freedom'
dr-	*drisṭi*	'look'
dhr-	*dhritrasṭra*	'a character in the Gita'
ṭr-	*ṭren*	'train'
ḍr-	*ḍrama*	'drama'
kr-	*kriya*	'action'
gr-	*gram*	'village'
ghr-	*ghrina*	'hatred'
pl-	*plan*	'plan'
kl-	*klant*	'sad'
gl-	*glas*	'glass'

Table 2.2: Maithili initial consonant clusters

C_2 / C_1	p	ph	b	bh	t	th	d	dh	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	c	ch	j	jh	k	kh	g	gh	s	h	r	l	m	n
p																							+	+		
ph																										
b																							+			
bh																							+			
t																							+			
th																										
d																							+			
dh																							+			
ṭ																							+			
ṭh																										
ḍ																							+			
ḍh																										
c																										
ch																										
j																										
jh																										
k																							+	+		
kh																										
g																							+	+		
gh																							+			
s	+	+			+	+			+														+	+	+	+
h																							+			
r																										
l																										
m																							+	+		
n																							+			

[s] + stop

sp-	*spəsṭ*	'clear'
sph-	*sphəṭik*	'marble'
st-	*stən*	'breast'
sth-	*sthan*	'place'
sṭ-	*sṭesən*	'station'
sk-	*skəndh*	'section; chapter'

[s] + resonant

sr-	*srisṭi*	'creation'
sl-	*sleṭ*	'slate'
sm-	*smərən*	'memory'
sn-	*snan*	'bath'

Table 2.3: Maithili medial consonant clusters

C_2 / C_1	p	ph	b	bh	t	th	d	dh	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	c	ch	j	jh	k	kh	g	gh	s	h	r	l	m	n
p					+		+		+				+	+	+		+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+
ph																					+	+	+	+		+
b					+		+	+	+		+						+		+		+	+	+	+		+
bh																	+					+	+			+
t	+		+														+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+
th																					+		+	+	+	+
d			+	+													+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
dh																	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+
ṭ			+														+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
ṭh	+				+												+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ḍ																										
ḍh																										
c			+		+												+						+	+	+	+
ch			+		+																		+	+	+	+
j	+	+	+	+													+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+
jh																	+	+					+	+		+
k	+		+		+	+	+		+				+	+							+	+	+	+	+	+
kh			+		+		+		+	+											+	+	+	+	+	+
g			+	+	+		+	+				+										+	+	+	+	+
gh									+														+	+		
s	+	+	+		+	+			+	+			+		+		+	+				+	+	+	+	+
h		+	+		+	+	+		+								+		+		+		+	+	+	+
r	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
l	+	+	+						+				+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+
m	+	+	+	+	+			+	+				+	+		+	+			+	+	+	+	+		+
n	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+			+	+	+	+	+	

Nasal + resonant

mr-	*mriga*	'deer'
nr-	*nrip*	'king'
ml-	*mlan*	'exhausted'

[h] + resonant

hr-	*hras*	'loss'

Three-consonant clusters

str-	*stri*	'wife; woman'
smr-	*smriti*	'memory'

Table 2.4: Maithili final consonant clusters

C₁ \ C₂	p	ph	b	bh	t	th	d	dh	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	c	ch	j	jh	k	kh	g	gh	s	h	r	l	m	n
p					+																		+			+
ph																										
b							+	+							+								+			
bh																										
t																					+		+	+	+	+
th																										
d																							+		+	
dh																										
ṭ																										
ṭh																										
ḍ																										
ḍh																										
c																										
ch																										
j																							+			
jh																										
k					+				+												+		+	+	+	
kh					+																				+	
g								+							+								+			+
gh																										+
s	+				+	+			+														+		+	+
h																										
r	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	
l	+	+					+				+						+					+			+	
m	+	+	+	+																		+	+	+		+
n					+		+	+	+		+	+	+		+						+	+			+	

2.4.2 Medial consonant clusters

Two consonant clusters

Stop + stop

-pt-	*həpta*	'week'
-pd-	*updes*	'moral teaching'
-pṭ-	*səpṭa*	'carpet'
-pc-	*kəpci*	'miser'
-pch-	*upchəl*	'(having) drained (e. g., water)'
-pj-	*upjəl*	'(having) grown'
-pk-	*upkar*	'favor'

-pkh-	*bəpkhəuki*	'Father-eater (feminine) – a way of calling names'
-bt-	*əbtar*	'incarnation'
-bd-	*gubdi*	'quiet'
-bdh-	*əbdhi*	'name of a person'
-bṭ-	*səbṭa*	'all of it'
-bk-	*əbkas*	'leave'
-bg-	*əbgun*	'defect'
-bhk-	*ləbhka*	'the new one'
-tp-	*tətpər*	'ready'
-tb-	*kotbakotbi*	'a Muslim celebration'
-tk-	*cəmətkar*	'skill'
-tkh-	*bhətkhəi*	'the ritual of eating rice – a feast'
-db-	*kodba*	'smallpox'
-dbh-	*ədbhut*	'wonderful'
-dk-	*khədkəb*	'to boil (with bubbles)'
-dkh-	*səidkhən*	'always'
-dg-	*udgəm*	'source'
-dgh-	*udghaṭən*	'opening ceremony'
-dhk-	*ədhkari*	'owner; master'
-dhkh-	*ədhkhəi*	'half meal'
-ṭb-	*kəṭbi*	'an ornament'
-ṭk-	*choṭki*	'the small one (feminine)'
-ṭkh-	*nəṭkhəṭ*	'naughty'
-ṭg-	*kəṭgər*	'shapely'
-ṭhp-	*kəṭhpij*	'sore with pus'
-ṭht-	*səṭhta*	'will send (a gift)'
-ṭhk-	*bəiṭhki*	'meeting'
-ṭhkh-	*kəṭhkhodhi*	'woodpecker'
-ṭhg-	*kəṭhgər*	'hard'
-ṭhgh-	*kəṭhghəra*	'a child game (lit. wooden house)'
-cb-	*socbəi*	'(I) will think'
-ct-	*pəctah*	'will inoculate (3H)'
-ck-	*ləcki*	'swing'
-chb-	*pəchba*	'western (wind)'
-cht-	*pəchta*	'the late one'
-jp-	*rəjput*	'the warrior caste'
-jph-	*rəjphul*	'a flower (befitting a king)'
-jb-	*səjba*	'fresh (yoghurt)'
-jbh-	*rajbhog*	'a kind of mango'
-jk-	*rajkul*	'of royal descent'

-jg-	*əjgər*	'python'
-jhk-	*səũjhka*	'of the evening'
-jhkh-	*sãjhkhən*	'in the evening'
-kp-	*nəkpicca*	'one with a flattened nose'
-kb-	*ləkba*	'paralysis'
-kt-	*mukti*	'liberation'
-kth-	*əkthæl*	'careless; too much satisfied'
-kd-	*təkdir*	'fate'
-kṭ-	*ə̃kṭa*	'unrefined (rice)'
-kc-	*nəkcira*	'one with a cut in the nose'
-kch-	*kəkchəl*	'dissatisfied; anguished'
-khb-	*əkhbar*	'newspaper'
-kht-	*təkhta*	'wooden board'
-khd-	*sukhdeb*	'name of a person'
-khṭ-	*khəkhṭəl*	'dirty and dry (utensil)'
-khṭh-	*sukhṭhi*	'dried (fish, meat, etc.)'
-gb-	*bhəgbe*	'(you) will run away'
-gbh-	*ləgbhəg*	'about'
-gt-	*bhəgta*	'a witch doctor'
-gd-	*bəgdəl*	'spoiled'
-gdh-	*mugdha*	'a happy woman'
-ghṭ-	*bighṭəl*	'angry'

Stop + fricative

-ps-	*jhəpsi*	'cloudy and rainy'
-phs-	*əphsər*	'officer'
-bs-	*əbsər*	'occasion'
-ts-	*utsəb*	'celebration'
-ths-	*həthsar*	'a house for elephants'
-ds-	*bədsahi*	'a kind of sweet'
-dhs-	*ədhsera*	'a measure for half a seer'
-ṭs-	*cəṭsar*	'students' study room'
-ṭhs-	*əṭhsəiṭh*	'sixty-eight'
-js-	*rajsi*	'royal'
-ks-	*kəksəl*	'tight'
-khs-	*nəkhsikh*	'from top to toe'

Stop + resonant

-pr-	*uprag*	'complaint'
-phr-	*phephra*	'lungs'

-br-	*ləbra*	'naughty'
-bhr-	*khəbhra*	'ditch'
-tr-	*sutri*	'thin thread'
-thr-	*pəthrah*	'stony'
-dr-	*bədri*	'shower'
-dhr-	*sudhrəl*	'reformed'
-ṭr-	*leṭra*	'left-handed'
-ṭhr-	*koṭhri*	'room'
-cr-	*pəcra*	'nail'
-chr-	*pəchra*	'quarrel'
-jr-	*bəjra*	'wrestling'
-jhr-	*ojhrəl*	'entangled'
-kr-	*kəkri*	'a kind of cucumber'
-khr-	*khəkhri*	'paddy without rice'
-gr-	*gəgri*	'small pitcher'
-ghr-	*ghəghri*	'skirt'
-pl-	*toplaha*	'the covered one'
-phl-	*siphlah*	'dressy'
-bl-	*əbla*	'helpless'
-tl-	*titli*	'butterfly'
-thl-	*huthlək*	'ridiculed'
-dl-	*bədla*	'revenge'
-dhl-	*ədhlah*	'bad'
-ṭl-	*həṭli*	'(I) moved'
-ṭhl-	*bəiṭhli*	'(I) sat'
-cl-	*pəcli*	'(I) vaccinated'
-chl-	*məchli*	'fish'
-jl-	*bijli*	'electricity'
-jhl-	*məijhli*	'middle (feminine)'
-kl-	*nəkli*	'artificial'
-khl-	*dekhli*	'(I) saw'
-gl-	*bəgli*	'pocket'
-ghl-	*pighləl*	'melted'
-pm-	*əpman*	'insult'
-tm-	*tətma*	'an untouchable caste'
-thm-	*prəthma*	'first'
-dm-	*ədmi*	'man'
-dhm-	*udhmi*	'naughty'
-ṭm-	*khəṭməl*	'bed bug'
-ṭhm-	*əṭhma*	'eighth'

-cm-	*pə̃cmi*	'fifth'
-chm-	*pəichmaha*	'western'
-jm-	*həjma*	'barber'
-km-	*hukmi*	'the ordering type'
-khm-	*sukhmi*	'rich and happy'
-gm-	*ləgma*	'name of a village'
-pn-	*səpna*	'dream'
-phn-	*phəphnah*	'inflammatory'
-bn-	*ləbni*	'a small pot'
-bhn-	*bəbhna*	'brahmin'
-tn-	*potna*	'rag used to clean, paint, etc.'
-thn-	*suthni*	'a kind of sweet potato'
-dn-	*ədna*	'trifle'
-dhn-	*lədhni*	'load-carrying horse'
-ṭn-	*kəṭni*	'harvest'
-ṭhn-	*səṭhnihar*	'giver (e. g., of a gift)'
-cn-	*ḅecni*	'name of a female person'
-chn-	*ləchni*	'lucky'
-jn-	*səjni*	'beloved'
-jhn-	*bəjhnai*	'the act of entanglement'
-kn-	*bukni*	'chili powder'
-khn-	*kəkhni*	'when'
-gn-	*əgni*	'fire'

Stop + [h]

-ph-	*uphar*	'gift'
-phh-	*kəphha*	'that which causes cough'
-bh-	*ləbhi*	'bring (IMP)'
-bhh-	*jhəbhhi*	'milking pot'
-th-	*bhuthi*	'ghostly'
-dh-	*bədhi*	'a thread worn around the neck'
-dhh-	*ədhhi*	'the half one'
-ṭh-	*ləṭha*	'thin and weak'
-ṭhh-	*əṭhhətəir*	'seventy-eight'
-jh-	*səjha*	'joint'
-kh-	*kəkhəl*	'combed'
-khh-	*dekhhi*	'see (IMP)'
-gh-	*ləghi*	'urine'

[s] + stop

-sp-	*əspətal*	'hospital'

-sph-	*bisphoṭ*	'explosion'
-sb-	*əsbab*	'pomp'
-st-	*rəsta*	'path'
-sth-	*prəsthan*	'departure'
-sṭ-	*bisṭi*	'loin cloth'
-sṭh-	*khəsṭhi*	'sixth'
-sc-	*pəscim*	'west'
sj-	*məsjid*	'mosque'
-sk-	*əskər*	'alone'
-skh-	*nuskha*	'way out'

[s] + resonant

-sr-	*tesra*	'third'
-sl-	*əslil*	'obscene'
-sm-	*cəsma*	'spectacles'
-sn-	*bəsni*	'a small pitcher'

[s] + [h]

-sh-	*məshur*	'famous'

Resonant + stop

-rp-	*khurpi*	'a small spade'
-rph-	*bərphi*	'a cold sweet'
-rb-	*pərba*	'pigeon'
-rbh-	*gərbhu*	'name of a person'
-rt-	*pərti*	'barren land'
-rth-	*kurthi*	'a kind of lentil'
-rd-	*hərdi*	'turmeric'
-rdh-	*gobərdhən*	'name of a mountain'
-rṭ-	*parṭi*	'party'
-rṭh-	*sorṭha*	'an old folk song'
-rc-	*mircai*	'hot pepper'
-rch-	*kərchul*	'a large spoon'
-rj-	*kərja*	'loan'
-rjh-	*murjhəl*	'faded'
-rk-	*lərki*	'daughter'
-rkh-	*bərkhi*	'death anniversary'
-rg-	*murga*	'cock'
-rgh-	*kərgha*	'loom'
-lp-	*jəlpan*	'refreshment'
-lph-	*sulpha*	'heavy needle'

-lb-	*bulbul*	'nightingale'
-lṭ-	*ulṭa*	'opposite'
-lc-	*lalci*	'greedy'
-lj-	*kəljug*	'one of the four Yugas'
-ljh-	*uljhəl*	'entangled; busy'
-lk-	*ḍholki*	'small drum'
-lkh-	*jəlkhəi*	'refreshment'
-lg-	*əlgəl*	'swollen'
-mp-	*cəmpa*	'name of a female person'
-mph-	*ḍəmpha*	'huge drum'
-mb-	*ləmba*	'long'
-mbh-	*khəmbha*	'house pole'
-mt-	*gumti*	'railroad crossing'
-mdh-	*səmdhi*	'son/daughter-in-law's father'
-mṭ-	*cimṭa*	'tongs'
-mc-	*cəmca*	'spoon'
-mch-	*gəmcha*	'towel'
-mjh-	*səmjhəl*	'understood'
-mk-	*gəmki*	'fragrance'
-mgh-	*təmghəil*	'a brass pitcher'
-np-	*kənpəṭṭi*	'side of the face'
-nph-	*kənphul*	'earring'
-nb-	*ənbe*	'(you will) bring'
-nbh-	*bənbhoj*	'picnic'
-nt-	*əntə*	'elsewhere'
-nth-	*məhəntha*	'name of a person'
-nd-	*əndaj*	'guess'
-ndh-	*dhəndha*	'job'
-nṭ-	*ghənṭa*	'huge bell'
-nṭh-	*bənṭha*	'pigmy'
-nḍ-	*ḍənḍa*	'a heavy stick'
-nc-	*uncalis*	'thirty-nine'
-nch-	*kancha*	'a common term for a Nepali-speaking waiter'
-nj-	*bhanja*	'nephew'
-nk-	*nənkirba*	'little boy'
-nkh-	*kənkhi*	'wink'

Resonant + s

-rs-	*kursi*	'chair'
-ls-	*alsi*	'lazy'

-ms-	*jhəmsi*	'cloudy and rainy'
-ns-	*munsa*	'male'

Resonant + resonant

-rl-	*girlah*	'fell down (3H)'
-rm-	*gərmi*	'heat'
-rn-	*kərni*	'act'
-lr-	*dulra*	'the loved one'
-lm-	*məlməl*	'muslin'
-ln-	*phəlna*	'some one (masculine)'
-mr-	*cəmra*	'skin'
-ml-	*əmli*	'tamarind'
-mn-	*rəmjhimni*	'okra'
-nr-	*bənri*	'monkey (female)'
-nl-	*bənli*	'(I) became'
-nm-	*jənməl*	'born'

[h] + stop

-hph-	*məhpha*	'palanquin'
-hb-	*kəhba*	'coffee'
-ht-	*kəhtah*	'will tell (3H)'
-hth-	*məhtha*	'a family name'
-hd-	*bəhdi*	'personal name'
-hṭ-	*bəhṭa*	'drive the animals (IMP)'
-hk-	*gə̃hki*	'buyer'
-hg-	*kəihgel*	'came and said'

[h] + [s]

-hs-	*təhsil*	'revenue'

[h] + resonant

-hr-	*khəhru*	'go down (H + IMP)'
-hl-	*kəhlək*	'said'
-hm-	*rəhməl*	'personal name'
-hn-	*mohni*	'attractive'

Three-consonant cluster

-str-	*mistri*	'mechanic'

2.4.3 Final consonant clusters

Stop + stop

-pt	*gupt*	'secret'
-bd	*səbd*	'word'
-bdh	*ləbdh*	'obtained'
-bj	*kəbj*	'constipation'
-kt	*bhəkt*	'devotee'
-kṭ	*ækṭ*	'act'
-kht	*səkht*	'strictly'
-gdh	*mugdh*	'pleased'
-gj	*məgj*	'mind'

Stop + [s]

-ts	*bibhəts*	'grotesque'
-ks	*səks*	'person'

Stop + resonant

-pr	*bipr*	'brahmin'
-br	*kəbr*	'graveyard'
-tr	*mitr*	'friend'
-dr	*səmudr*	'ocean'
-jr	*bəjr*	'thunder'
-kr	*cəkr*	'circle'
-gr	*əgr*	'ahead'
-tl	*kətl*	'massacre'
-kl	*əkl*	'intelligence'
-tm	*khətm*	'end'
-dm	*pədm*	'lotus'
-km	*hukm*	'order'
-khm	*jəkhm*	'wound'
-pn	*swəpn*	'dream'
-tn	*rətn*	'jewel'
-gn	*nəgn*	'naked'
-ghn	*bighn*	'trouble'

[s] + stop

-sp	*dilcəsp*	'interesting'
-st	*əst*	'end'
-sth	*əntəsth*	'interior'
-sṭ	*əsṭ*	'eight'

[s] + resonant

-sr	*misr*	'a family name'
-sm	*bhəsm*	'ashes'
-sn	*prəsn*	'question'

Resonant + stop

-rp	*dərp*	'pride'
-rph	*bərph*	'snow'
-rb	*dərb*	'valuable goods'
-rbh	*gərbh*	'pregnancy'
-rt	*sərt*	'condition'
-rth	*ərth*	'meaning'
-rd	*sərd*	'cold'
-rdh	*ərdh*	'half'
-rṭ	*sərṭ*	'shirt'
-rḍ	*garḍ*	'guard'
-rc	*cərc*	'reference'
-rj	*kərj*	'loan'
-rk	*phərk*	'difference'
-rkh	*murkh*	'stupid'
-rg	*bərg*	'class'
-rgh	*dirgh*	'long'
-lp	*əlp*	'little'
-lph	*julph*	'lock of hair'
-ld	*jəld*	'soon'
-lḍ	*philḍ*	'field'
-lk	*sulk*	'fee'
-mp	*bhukəmp*	'earthquake'
-mph	*ḍəmph*	'huge drum'
-mb	*kədəmb*	'a kind of tree'
-mbh	*dəmbh*	'vanity'
-nt	*sənt*	'sage'
-nd	*bənd*	'closed'
-ndh	*bəndh*	'dam'
-nṭ	*ənṭsənṭ*	'haphazard'
-nḍ	*ḍənḍ*	'punishment'
-nḍh	*lənḍh*	'male organ'
-nc	*pənc*	'leader; arbiter'
-nj	*kunj*	'forest'

Resonant + [s]

-rs	*bərs*	'year'
-ns	*həns*	'swan'

Resonant + resonant

-rm	*gərm*	'hot'
-lm	*julm*	'injustice'
-mr	*umr*	'age'
-ml	*əml*	'sour'
-mn	*prədyumn*	'lotus'
-nm	*jənm*	'birth'

Resonant + [h]

-rh	*bairh*	'flood'
-lh	*kailh*	'tomorrow; yesterday'
-mh	*brəmh*	'God'
-nh	*cinh*	'mark'

2.5 Vowel clusters

Maithili two-vowel clusters are listed below in Table 2.5. A few of the possible three-vowel clusters are also listed in section 2.5.2. Both types of vowel clusters undergo a phonetic process of diphthongization as discussed in 2.2.7.

Table 2.5: Maithili vowel clusters

V_2 / V_1	i	e	æ	ə	a	ɔ	o	u
i			+	+	+		+	+
e								+
æ								
ə	+	+			+			+
a	+	+					+	+
ɔ								
o	+	+			+			
u	+				+			

2.5.1 Two-vowel clusters

Initial

əi-	*əisən*	'like this'
əe-	*əelah*	'came (3H)'
əu-	*əutah*	'will come (3H)'
ai-	*aiskrim*	'ice cream'
oi-	*oisən*	'like that'

Medial

-iæ-	*khiæl*	'defaced (e. g., coin)'
-iə-	*siəl*	'sewn'
-ia-	*diad*	'kin'
-io-	*dior*	'husband's brother'
-iu-	*piusi*	'father's sister'
-eu-	*ḍeurhi*	'court'
-əi-	*bəis*	'sit (IMP)'
-əe-	*bəel*	'ox'
-əu-	*cəuh*	'jaw'
-ai-	*bail*	'crop'
-ae-	*lael*	'brought'
-au-	*baul*	'sand'
-oi-	*koila*	'coal'
-oe-	*goenka*	'a family name'
-oa-	*poar*	'straw'
-ui-	*buir*	'vagina'
-ua-	*juari*	'gambler'

Final

-iə	*diə*	'(please) give'
-ia	*dia*	'lamp'
-io	*dio*	'(let him) give'
-iu	*ghiu*	'clarified butter'
-əi	*ləi*	'paste'
-əe	*gəe*	'a form of address for women'
-əa	*dəa*	'deliver and come'
-əu	*həu*	'a form of address for men'
-ai	*lai*	'popped rice balls'
-ae	*mae*	'mother'
-ao	*lao*	'(let him) bring'

-au	*bau*	'father'
-oi	*koi*	'any person'
-oa	*koa*	'slice'
-ui	*sui*	'needle'
-ua	*jua*	'gambling'

2.5.2 Three-vowel clusters

Medial

-iau-	*piauj*	'onion'
-əuæ-	*bəuæl*	'lost'

Final

-iəu	*diəu*	'give (IMP)'
-iau	*biau*	'give birth (IMP)'
-əia	*dəia*	'grandmother'
-əua	*kəua*	'crow'
-uia	*buia*	'louse'

2.6 Stress and intonation

2.6.1 Stress

Stress in Maithili is far weaker than in English. Also, stress in Maithili is less significant, playing only a marginal role in distinguishing words.

Below a preliminary study of the position of primary word stress in Maithili is given.

Monosyllabic: All monosyllabic nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and verbs are always stressed, e. g.,

['i]	'this'
['ke]	'who'
['mach]	'fish'
['ḍhil]	'louse'
['khæb]	'will eat (2H)'

Disyllabic: A great majority of disyllabic nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and verb infinitives receive stress on their penultimate syllable, e. g.,

['ədmi]	'man'
['ṭhehun]	'knee'
['kekər]	'whose'
['bəhut]	'a lot'
['ləlka]	'the red one'
['kərəb]	'to do'
['marəb]	'to beat'

Inflected causative verb forms, however, receive stress on the ultimate syllable, e. g.,

[kə'ṭa]	'cause to cut'
[lə'da]	'cause to load'
[phə̃'sa]	'cause to entangle'

A number of disyllabic nouns, pronouns, and adjectives of Maithili may normally receive stress on the ultimate syllable when the ultimate syllable is either closed, i. e., ends in a consonant or a cluster of consonants, or ends in a sequence of vowels – which is diphthongized in actual pronunciation, e. g.,

[bi'rar]	'land fit to grow seedlings'
[ghə'mənḍ]	'pride'
[kə'ṭhor]	'hard'
[gə'rur]	'a bird'
[bi'lai]	'cat'
[lə'rai]	'war'
[mir'cai]	'hot pepper'
[cə'ṭai]	'mat'

Trisyllabic: The majority of trisyllabic nouns, pronouns, and adjectives receive stress on the penultimate syllable, e. g.,

[kən'pəṭṭi]	'temple (of the head)'
[un'calis]	'thirty-nine'
[bhəg'jogni]	'firefly'
[kəṭh'khodhi]	'woodpecker'

A small number of trisyllabic nouns, pronouns, and adjectives receive stress on the antepenultimate syllable, e. g.,

['bərhiyã] 'better'
['tərhiya] 'petticoat'
['duniyã] 'world'
['nariyər] 'coconut'

A few trisyllabic nouns and adjectives also receive stress on the ultimate syllable, e. g.,

[hosi'yar] 'alert'
[əsən'tokh] 'dissatisfaction'
[guri'æl] 'wrapped up'
[bəru'war] 'strong'

Most trisyllabic verb infinitives, including causal infinitives, receive stress on the penultimate syllable, e. g.,

[khi'harəb] 'to chase'
[nəŋ'raeb] 'to limp'
[lə'daeb] 'to cause to load'
[hə'ṭaeb] 'to remove'

Quadrisyllabic: Almost all Maithili nouns and adjectives of four syllables have stress on the antepenultimate syllable, e. g.,

[bəm'reṭiya] 'left-handed'
[nə'cəniyã] 'dancer'
[mə'jakiya] 'humorous'
[u'pədrəbi] 'naughty'

There are, however, some exceptions: for instance, a small number of quadrisyllabic nouns and adjectives – mostly borrowings – receive stress on the penultimate syllable, e. g.,

[əgər'bətti] 'incense' (Hindi borrowing)
[əbhi'neta] 'actor' (Sanskrit borrowing)

In compound nouns of four syllables, the two components retain their original patterns – the first component having the primary stress and the second the secondary stress. For instance:

['caruˌtərəph] 'all round' (lit.: 'four sides')
['bunəˌbəla] 'weaver' (lit.: 'weave + AGENT')

[bi'rarˌbəla] 'owner of the land fit to grow seedlings'
[mir'caiˌbari] 'pepper garden'

All verbs of four syllables receive stress on the penultimate syllable, e. g.,

[pəhũ'caeb] 'to cause to arrive'
[ghisi'yaeb] 'to drag'
[bisbi'saeb] 'to itch'
[culcu'laeb] 'to scratch an itch'
[bohi'aeb] 'to wallow'

Like the compound nouns, the so-called conjunct verbs (see 6.5.2) also retain their original stress on the components, but both components receive primary stress, e. g.,

['pəcha 'lagəb] 'to follow'
['səŋe 'jaeb] 'to escort'
['haphi 'kərəb] 'to yawn'
[de'khar 'kərəb] 'to expose'
[ḍhe'kar 'kərəb] 'to belch'
[si'ŋar 'kərəb] 'to decorate'

To sum up, despite a few exceptions, the general pattern is for most words in Maithili to receive stress on the penultimate syllable.

2.6.2 Intonation

2.6.2.1 Falling intonation

(i) Declarative sentences in Maithili have a falling intonation (shown by ↓):

(1) *rəmes aib ge-l-ah*↓
Ramesh come go-PST-(3H)
'Ramesh came.'

(2) *həm ja-it chi*↓
I go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I go.'

(3) *kitab ṭebul pər əich*↓
book table on be-PRES-(3NH)
'The book is on the bable.'

(ii) Polite commands also have a falling intonation:

(4) *bəis-əl* *ja-ɔ*↓
sit-PSTPCL go-IMP-(2HH)
'Please be seated.'

(5) *bəis-u* *ne*↓
sit-IMP-(2H) DEF
'Do sit down.'

(iii) Information questions (see chapter 8) formed with the use of *k*-pro-form question words have a falling final intonation:

(6) *o* *ke* *ch-əith*↓
he(H) who be-PRES-(3H)
'Who is he?'

(7) *əhã* *kətə* *rəh-əit* *ch-i*↓
you(H) where live-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Where do you live?'

(8) *toh-ər* *nam* *ki* *ch-əuk*↓
You(NH)-GENIT name what be-PRES-(3NH + 2NH)
'What's your name?'

(iv) Neutral Yes-No questions (see chapter 8) containing a sentence-initial question word *ki* 'what' also have a falling final intonation:

(9) *ki* *o* *aib* *ge-l-ah*↓
what he(H) come go-PST-(3H)
'Did he come back?'

(10) *ki* *əhã* *khəe-l-əhũ*↓
what you(H) eat-PST-(2H)
'Did you eat?'

2.6.2.2 Rising intonation

(i) 'Bare' Yes-No questions (see chapter 8) in Maithili have a rising final intonation (shown by ↑):

(11) *am* *khæ-b*↑
mango eat-FUT-(2H)
'Would you like to eat mangoes?'

(12) *(əhã)* *cəil* *əe-l-əhũ*↑
you(H) walk come-PST-(2H)
'Did you come back?'

(ii) Finally, in disjunctive questions (see chapter 8) all non-final Yes-No questions have rising intonation, while the final question has a falling intonation to imply that the list is complete:

(13) *əhã* *cah* *pi-əb*↑ *ki* *kɔphi*↑ *ki* *dudh*↑ *ki*
you(H) tea drink-FUT-(2H) or coffee or milk or
cɔkleṭ↓
chocolate
'What will you take, tea or coffee or milk or chocolate?'

2.7 Morphophonemics

Most morphophonemic alternations that characterize the Maithili sound system have been duly pointed out and discussed in appropriate places in the text. For the benefit of the reader, the alternations are listed and illustrated here in one place.

We will begin with a set of two morphophonemic alternations that are very productive and regular, and then proceed to a host of idiosyncratic morphophonemic alternations. The two alternations are: (i) *ə* → 0 and (ii) *a* → *ə*. These are discussed below in some detail.

(i) Schwa deletion rule

…VCəCV… → …VC0CV…

Schwa deletion is an extremely systematic and highly regular phonological process in Maithili. Schwa deletion occurs in words/stems containing a schwa as the second vowel when a vowel-initial suffix is added, e. g.,

Nouns

/sərạk-e/ → [sərḳe] 'only the road'
road-EMPH

/kəmər-o/ → [kəmro] 'even the blanket'
blanket-EMPH

Verbs

/ləṭək-əl/ hang-PST	→	[ləṭkəl]	'hung'
/pəsər-ət/ spread-FUT	→	[pəsrət]	'will spread'
/sudhər-əit/ improve-IMPERF	→	[sudhrəit]	'improving'
/nikəl-a/ come out-CAUS I	→	[nikla]	'cause to come out'

The above data show schwa deletion occurring regularly in Maithili words and stems. But what about the schwa occurring in suffixes which are again followed by vowel-initial suffixes? In other words, can the schwa of the suffix be deleted if the structural description of the schwa deletion rule is met? The answer is 'yes'. There is, however, speaker variation showing the deletion of any of the two schwas. Which particular schwa is deleted will depend upon whether the schwa deletion rule is applied from the left or from the right, as is shown below:

/nikəl-ət/ come out-FUT	→	[niklət]	'will come out'

but,

/nikəl-ət-ah/ come out-FUT-(3H)	→	[nikəltah] ~ [niklətah]	'will come out (3H)'
/ləṭək-əl/ hang-PST	→	[ləṭkəl]	'hung'

but,

/ləṭək-əl-əuk/ hang-PST-(3NH + 2NH)	→	[ləṭkələuk] ~ [ləṭəkləuk]	'(your) hung'
/ughər-əl/ uncover-PST	→	[ughrəl]	'uncovered'

but,

/ughər-əl-əinh/ uncover-PST-(3NH + 3H)	→	[ughrələinh] ~ [ughərləinh]	'(his) uncovered'

There are, however, a few constraints on the rule of schwa deletion. Schwa deletion does not occur when a consonant-initial suffix is added;

note that in such instances the schwa deletion rule cannot apply because the structural description is not met, e. g.,

/ləṭək-ba/ hang-CAUS II	→	[ləṭəkba]	'cause to hang (through s. o.)'
/pəsər-ba/ spread-CAUS II	→	[pəsərba]	'cause to spread (through s. o.)'

Schwa deletion also does not occur if the schwa in question is preceded and followed by a consonant cluster; in other words, three-consonant clusters are disallowed in Maithili, e. g.,

/bibhəts-o/ grotesque-EMPH	→	[bibhətso] ~ *[bibhtso]	'even the grotesque'
/bəsənt-e/ spring-EMPH	→	[bəsənte] ~ *[bəsnte]	'only spring'
/bhukəmp-o/ earthquake-EMPH	→	[bhukəmpo] ~ *[bhukmpo]	'even the earthquake'
/pustək-o/ book-EMPH	→	[pustəko] ~ *[pustko]	'even the book'
/kirtən-e/ hymn-EMPH	→	[kirtəne] ~ *[kirtne]	'only the hymn'

Obviously, the above forms do not undergo the schwa deletion rule because the structural description is not met. Finally, the real exceptions to the schwa deletion rule are the prefixed stems which do not undergo schwa deletion even if the structural description is met, e. g.

/be-pəṛh-əl/ without-read-PSTPCPL	→	[bepəṛhəl] ~ *[bepṛhəl]	'uneducated'
/prə-gəti/ more movement	→	[prəgəti] ~ *[prəgti]	'improvement'
/su-məti/ good idea	→	[suməti] ~ *[sumti]	'good idea'

(ii) *a* → *ə*

a → *ə* is also a productive rule in the Maithili sound system. The stem-internal *a* occurring in the first syllable of a word/stem is changed into *ə* upon addition of an affix containing a vowel, e. g.,

[kaṭh]	'wood'	[kəṭhgər]	'hard'
[maũs]	'meat'	[məũsgər]	'meaty'
[kam]	'work'	[kəmai]	'wages'
[hathi]	'elephant'	[həthini]	'she-elephant'
[kari]	'black'	[kərikki]	'the black one (F)'

There are, however, constraints to the *a* → *ə* rule. Stem-initial *a* (followed by a-stem-final consonant) is changed into *ə* upon addition of an aspectual affix which is either consonant initial or diphthong initial, if the stem-final consonant is not *r* or *l*, e. g.,

/kaṭ-əit/ cut-IMPERF	→	[kəṭəit]	'cutting'
/caṭ-ne/ lick-PERF	→	[cəṭne]	'having licked'

but,

/mar-əit/ beat-IMPERF	→	[marəit]	'beating'
/pal-ne/ bring up-PERF	→	[palne]	'having brought up'

There are also a few exceptions to the *a* → *ə* rule. Not all affixes containing a vowel trigger the *a* → *ə* change. For instance, the feminine suffix *-in* does not trigger the *a* → *ə* rule, while the feminine suffixes *-ni* and *-ain* do, e. g.,

[sãp]	'snake'	[sãpin]	'snake (F)'
[bagh]	'tiger'	[baghin]	'tigress'
[babhən]	'brahmin'	[babhin]	'brahmin (F)'

but,

[rajput]	'a caste name'	[rəjputni]	'a caste name (F)'
[ṭhakur]	'a caste name'	[ṭhəkurain]	'a caste name (F)'.

Finally, the tense and person markers consisting of *əC* do not trigger the *a* → *ə* change, e. g.,

/kaṭ-əl/ cut-FUT-(3NH)	→	[kaṭət]	'will cut (3NH)'
/mar-əb/ beat-FUT-(1)	→	[marəb]	'will beat (I)'
/bhag-əl/ run away-PST-(3NH)	→	[bhagəl]	'ran away (3NH)'

Nevertheless, if the affixal element contains the vowel *a*, the change of *a* → *ə* takes place invariably, irrespective of which syllable the vowel *a* occurs in, as is shown below:

[bagh]	'tiger'
[bəghinia]	'tigress (impolite)'
[babhən]	'brahmin'
[bəbhinia]	'brahmin (F, impolite)'
[dusadh]	'a caste name'
[dusədhnia]	'a caste name (F, impolite)'
[mar]	'kill'
[məra]	'cause to kill'
[mərba]	'cause to kill (through s. o.)'
[pal]	'bring up'
[pəla]	'cause to bring up'
[pəlba]	'cause to bring up (through s. o.)'

Innumerable idiosyncratic morphophonemic alternations occur in Maithili, most of which relate to verbal morphophonology. The prominent ones are listed below with illustrations.

A number of stem alternations occur upon suffixation of tense, aspect, and person and honorificity agreement affixes; these depend mainly upon the structure of the verb stem (i. e., whether it ends in a vowel or a consonant).

First, the *ə*-initial imperfective marker loses its schwa upon addition to a stem ending in a vowel other than *i* and *u*, e. g.,

/kha-əit/ eat-IMPERF	→	[khait]	'eating'
ja-əit/ go-IMPERF	→	[jait]	'going'
ho-əit/ be-IMPERF	→	[hoit]	'becoming'

but,

/pi-əit/ drink-IMPERF	→	[piəit]	'drinking'

/si-əit/ → [siəit] 'sewing'
sew-IMPERF

/chu-əit/ → [chuəit] 'touching'
touch-IMPERF

Second, together with the schwa deletion, *e* is inserted between the verb stem ending in a vowel other than *i* and *u* and the tense and aspect markers of *əC* structure, e. g.,

/kha-ət/ → [khaet] ~ [khæt] 'will eat (3NH)'
eat-FUT-(3NH)

/a-əl/ → [ael] ~ [æl] 'having come'
come-PERF

/a-ət/ → [aet] ~ [æt] 'will come (3NH)'
come-FUT-(3NH)

/ho-ət/ → [hoet] 'will become (3NH)'
be-FUT-(3NH)

but,

/pi-ət/ → [piət] 'will drink (3NH)'
drink-FUT-(3NH)

/chu-əl/ → [chuəl] 'having touched'
touch-PERF

/si-əb/ → [siəb] 'will sew (I)'
sew-FUT-(I)

Third, the stem-final vowel *a* is changed into *ə*e upon addition of composite tense and person and honorificity agreement affixes, as shown below:

/kha-ət-ah/ → [khəetah] 'He (H) will eat'
eat-FUT-(3H)

/a-əl-əith/ → [əeləith] 'He (H) came'
come-PST-(3H)

/ja-ət-ah/ → [jəetah] 'He (H) will go'
go-FUT-(3H)

/la-əl-əith/ → [ləeləith] 'He (H) brought'
bring-PST-(3H)

/ja-ət-əik/ → [jəetəik] 'He (NH) will go'
go-FUT-(3NH)

/kha-əl-kəik/ → [khəelkəik] 'He (NH) ate his (NH)'
eat-PST-(3NH + 3NH)

Optionally, causative stems (which always end in *a*) have their *a* changed into *əu* which may coalesce into *ɔ*, e. g.,

/chər-a-əl-ək/ → [chərəelək] ~ [chərəulək] ~ [chərɔlək]
thatch-CAUS I-PST-(3NH) 'He had it thatched'

/likh-ba-ət-ah/ → [likhbəetah] ~ [likhbəutah] ~ [likhbɔtah]
write-CAUS II-FUT-(3H) 'He will have it written by some-one'

Stem-final *a* is deleted in such verbs as *kha* 'eat', *ja* 'go' (but not *la* 'bring', *a* 'come') upon addition of the 2NH imperative marker *-o*, e. g.,

/kha-o/ → [kho] 'eat!'
eat-IMP-(2NH)

/ja-o/ → [jo] 'go!'
go-IMP-(2NH)

Finally, *-b-* is suffixed obligatorily to verb stems ending in *a* such as *a* 'come', *la* 'bring', *pa* 'find', *ga* 'sing' (but not to *ja* 'go', *kha* 'eat'), and optionally to verb stems ending in *i* and *u*, such as *pi* 'drink', *si* 'sew', *chu* 'touch', prior to the suffixation of the imperfective aspectual marker *-əit*, e. g.

/la-əit/ → [ləbəit] 'bringing'
bring-IMPERF

pa-əit/ → [pəbəit] 'finding'
find-IMPERF

/pi-əit/ → [piəit] ~ [pibəit] 'drinking'
drink-IMPERF

si-əit/ → [siəit] ~ [sibəit] 'sewing'
sew-IMPERF

/chu-əit/ → [chuəit] ~ [chubəit] 'touching'
touch-IMPERF

-b- is also suffixed obligatorily to causative stems (which always end in *a*) prior to the suffixation of the imperfective aspectual marker *-əit*, e. g.,

/pəṛh-a-əit/ read-CAUS I-IMPERF	→	[pəṛhəbəit]	~	[pəṛhbəit]	'teaching'
/pəṛh-ba-əit/ read-CAUS II-IMPERF	→	[pəṛhbəbəit]			'teaching (through s. o.)'

Fourth, verb stems ending in *e* also cause the initial schwa of the tense markers to be deleted, e. g.,

/de-əb/ give-FUT-(1)	→	[deb]	'I will give'
/le-ət/ take-FUT-(3NH)	→	[let]	'He will take'
/de-əl/ give-PST	→	[del]	'gave'
/le-əl/ take-PST	→	[lel]	'took'

But, upon addition of the imperfective aspectual marker *-əit*, the *ə* is not deleted; instead, the stem final *e* is deleted, e. g.,

/de-əit/ give-IMPERF	→	[dəit]	'giving'
/le-əit/ take-IMPERF	→	[ləit]	'taking'

Verb stems ending in *e* also show an *e* → *i* stem alternation upon addition of the 2H imperative marker, e. g.,

/de-ə/ give-IMP-(2H)	→	[diə]	~	[diyə]	'give!'
/le-ə/ take-IMP-(2H)	→	[liə]	~	[liyə]	'take!'

Fifth, verb stems ending in a consonant usually show little stem alternation. But a few verbs ending in *r* (such as *kər* 'do', *dhər* 'keep', but not *bhər* 'fill') lose their final *r* upon addition of the progressive aspectual word *rəhəl*, e. g.,

/kər do	rəhəl PROG	chi-/ AUX-PRES-(1)	→	[kə rəhəl chi]	'I am doing'
/dhər keep	rəhəl PROG	ch-əith/ AUX-PRES-(3H)	→	[dhə rəhəl chəith]	'He is keeping'

The stem-final *r* is also deleted upon the addition of the past participial or perfective or the past tense marker; in addition, *e* is inserted between the stem and the affix, e. g.,

/kər-əl-əinh/ do-PST-(3H)		→	[kəeləinh]	'He did'
/dhər-əl keep-PSTPCPL	əich/ be-PRES-(3NH)	→	[dhəel əich]	'It is kept'
/dhər-ne keep-PERF	ch-əith/ AUX-PRES-(3H)	→	[dhəene chəith]	'He has kept'

Last, in a few verb stems ending in a consonant, *i* is inserted before the final consonant and the progressive aspect *rəhəl* in spoken Maithili:

/pəṛh read	rəhəl PROG	ch-i/ AUX-PRES-(1)	→	[pəiṛh rəhəl chi]	'I am studying'
/kaṭ cut	rəhəl PROG	ch-əith/ AUX-PRES-(3H)	→	[kaiṭ rəhəl chəith]	'He (H) is cutting'

i is also inserted in spoken Maithili before the final consonant of a polar verb when combined with a vector verb in a compound verb expression, e. g.,

/uṭh rise	ja-əit go-IMPERF	ch-i/ AUX-PRES-(1)	→	[uiṭh jait chi]	'I arise'
/pəkər catch	le-əl-əith/ take-PST-(3H)		→	[pəkəir leləith]	'He (H) caught'
/cəṛh climb	ja-ət-ah/ go-FUT-(3H)		→	[cəiṛh jəetah]	'He (H) will climb'
/mər die	ja-əl-ah/ go-PST-(3H)		→	[məir gelah]	'He (H) died'

2.8 Script

A total of three scripts have been used for Maithili. These are: Mithilakṣar (also known as Tirhuta and Maithili), Kaithi, and Devanagari.

Mithilakṣar is the oldest script of Maithili; historically, it is quite similar to Bengali and Oriya scripts. Grierson (1881 b: 5) states that "The

Maithili [i. e., Mithilakṣar] character is nearly the same as Bangālī, differing only in one or two letters." However, G. Jha (1974: 112) argues that 21 out of 47 characters of the Mithilakṣar script are totally different from those of the Bengali script; in other words, more than 44 percent of the Mithilkaṣar characters are different in form from the Bengali characters.

Mithilakṣar is no longer in use, and no books are printed in this script nowadays. Today its use is largely confined to ceremonies and rituals for purposes of decoration by brahmins and kayasthas. An attempt to revive the Mithilakṣar script, however, is under way in northern India. For a detailed discussion of the origin and development of the Mithilakṣar script, the reader is referred to R. Jha (1971).

During the British regime in India, the Kaithi character (which is a corruption of the Devanagari script) was used as an official character throughout Bihar and Chota Nagpur; its use also spread to the Nepal tarai. As the name suggests, Kaithi was extensively used by kayasthas for record-keeping in government offices. However, throughout Mithila all educated people who were not brahmins used the Kaithi character and found it extremely easy to read and write.

For an extensive discussion and illustration of the Kaithi writing system, the reader is referred to Grierson (1881 b).

Today Maithili is written in the Devanagari script, which is also the script associated with classical Sanskrit and with a number of modern Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi and Nepali.

Table 2.6 lists the Devanagari symbols and their transliterations. The symbols are presented as they are traditionally arranged: first the symbols for vowels, and then for single consonants (which are subdivided into stops, semi-vowels, and spirants), followed by symbols for consonant–vowel and consonant–consonant combinations and two diacritical marks.

Usually there is a one-to-one correspondence between the symbol and the sound it represents. Thus, for example, the first vowel character uniquely represents the vowel [ə]; it also represents the so-called inherent vowel attached to a consonant symbol when it is pronounced in isolation. Thus, as shown in Table 2.6, the consonant [k] is transliterated as ⟨ka⟩ and pronounced as [kə] when uttered in isolation. However, as noted in 2.2.2, the so-called inherent vowel was dropped long ago, and is not pronounced in word-final positions in modern Maithili.

Not all vowel characters correspond uniquely to the sounds they represent. Thus, for example, no unique symbols exist for the vowels [æ] and

Table 2.6: Devanagari Symbols and Their Transliterations

Vowels

a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	e	ai	o	au

Consonants

Stops					Semi-vowels		Spirants	
ka	kha	ga	gha	ṅa				ha
ca	cha	ja	jha	ña	ya		śa	
ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇa			ṣa	
ta	tha	da	dha	na	ra	la	sa	
pa	pha	ba	bha	ma	va			

Examples of Combinations

kā	ki	kī	ku	kū	ke	kai	ko	kau	kṛ	kta
kra	kṣa	tra	jña	tva	tya	bda	rka	śra	pta	dya
nha	hma	hṛ˙	hva	hya	hra					

Diacritics

̐ (vowel nasalization)
· (dot above a symbol)

[ɔ]. [æ] is represented by such vowel combinations as ⟨āe⟩, ⟨āi⟩, and ⟨āya⟩, while [ɔ] is represented by ⟨au⟩ or ⟨ao⟩, e. g.,

[æ]	[bhæ]	⟨bhāe⟩	'brother'
		⟨bhāi⟩	
		⟨bhāya⟩	

Occasionally, [æ] is also represented by ⟨ae⟩, e. g.,

[kæl]		⟨kaela⟩	'did'
[ɔ]	[pɔləhũ]	⟨paolahũ⟩	'got (2H)'
		⟨paulahũ⟩	

Although the Devanagari script provides separate symbols for long and short vowels, vowel length is not phonemic in Maithili.

Consonant symbols correspond rather closely to the sounds they represent. However, a few inconsistencies exist. Thus, for example, the three spirant characters (transliterated as ⟨śa⟩, ⟨ṣa⟩, and ⟨sa⟩) all represent a single phoneme which is the voiceless dental fricative [s]. In brahmanic sociolects, the voiceless retroflex fricative [ṣ] occurring initially in words borrowed from Sanskrit is also pronounced as [kh], e. g., ⟨ṣaṣṭī⟩ 'sixth' is pronounced as [khəṣṭi], but never as *[khəkhṭi] or *[ṣəkhṭi].

The combined character ⟨kṛ⟩ is pronounced as [kri] in modern Maithili, e. g., ⟨kṛpā⟩ [kripa] 'grace'; ⟨hma⟩ is usually pronounced as [mh], e. g., ⟨brahmā⟩ [brəmhā] 'God'; ⟨jña⟩ is pronounced as [gyã], e. g., ⟨jñāna⟩ [gyãn] 'knowledge'; ⟨kṣa⟩ is pronounced either as [kch] or as [cch], e. g., ⟨sākṣara⟩ [sakchər] ~ [sacchər] 'literate'.

One peculiarity of the Maithili writing system deserves special mention. The fully inflected verb forms containing person and honorificity agreement affixes are written variously; thus, [kəhləinh] 'He (H) said to me' is written as ⟨kahalanhi⟩, ⟨kahalainhi⟩ or ⟨kahalainh⟩. Similarly, [bajəith] 'He (H) may speak' is written as ⟨bājathi⟩ or ⟨bājaithi⟩ or ⟨bājaith⟩.

Finally, the diacritical marks. The diacritical mark ◡ (called candrabindu) is used to mark phonemic vowel nasalization, e. g.,

[sãp]	'snake'
[sə̃]	'from'

The other diacritical mark, i. e., the dot above a symbol (called ⟨anusvāra⟩), is used to mark the nasal consonant which is immediately followed by a homorganic stop, e. g.,

[sənt]	'saint'
[bəndər]	'monkey'
[cəncəl]	'naughty'

On occasion, the dot above a symbol is used where ideally the candrabindu should have occurred, e. g.,

[bãs]	'bamboo'
[sãs]	'breath'

Chapter three
The noun and the noun phrase

3.0 Introduction

Gender, number, and case are the morphosyntactic categories by which Maithili nouns may be classified. The gender of a noun is simply inherent, receiving no overt expression on the noun itself, being instead expressed in the agreement of verbs. Number is marked only periphrastically, while case is marked inflectionally on the noun.

3.1 Gender

Most traditional grammars of Maithili state that the Maithili noun has two genders – masculine and feminine. A great majority of them list as many as four genders – e. g., masculine, feminine, neuter, and both masculine and feminine, called *ubhayaliṅga*. A few grammars even assign a Sanskritic gender system to Maithili nouns. A case in point in this regard is the following statement from Grierson (1909: 43):

> The noun has two Genders – Masculine and Feminine. Words derived direct from the Sanskrit, which were originally neuter, generally become masculine in Maithili.
>
> The most important exceptions to this rule are *ā̃kh*^{i}, an eye; *dah*^{i} *or dahī* curdled milk; *dūr*^{i} distance; and *pustak*, a book; which are feminine. *āg*^{i}, fire, though derived from a masculine Sanskrit word, is feminine in Maithili. [Examples in Devanagari omitted]

Modern Maithili, however, has no grammatical gender.[1] In other words, in modern Maithili distinctions of gender (masculine or feminine) are determined solely by the sex of the animate noun. Thus, for example, *ghoṛa* 'horse' is masculine, while *ghoṛi* 'mare' is feminine; similarly, *bap* 'father' is masculine, whereas *mae*/*mæ* 'mother' is feminine.

Agreement between the gender of an animate subject and the verb in a Maithili sentence is of a restricted nature. For instance, in the present tense, verbs show no agreement with the gender of their subject, e. g.,

(14) *masṭər* *pəṛhb-əit* *ch-əith*
teacher(M) teach-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'The (male) teacher teaches'

(15) *masṭərni* *pəṛhb-əit* *ch-əith*
teacher(F) teach-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'The (female) teacher teaches'

In past tense sentences, however, gender agreement between an intransitive verb and its subject does occur – but mostly in formal and literary styles using honorific forms, e. g.,

(16) *pənḍit* *əe-l-ah*
pundit(M) come-PST-(3H)
'The (male) pundit came'

(17) *pənḍitain* *əe-l-ih*
pundit's wife come-PST-(3H)
'The pundit's wife came'/'The (female) pundit came'

In future tense sentences, both transitive and intransitive verbs may agree in gender with an animate subject – but again mostly in formal and literary styles using honorific forms. The following examples are illustrative:

(18) *pənḍit* *məntr* *pəṛh-t-ah*
pundit(M) mantras read-FUT-(3H)
'The (male) pundit will chant the mantras'

(19) *pənḍitain* *məntr* *pəṛh-t-ih*
pundit's wife mantras read-FUT-(3H)
'The pundit's wife/The (female) pundit will chant the mantras'

(20) *raja* *əu-t-ah/ɔ-t-ah*
king come-FUT-(3H)
'The king will come'

(21) *rani* *əu-t-ih/ɔ-t-ih*
queen come-FUT-(3H)
'The queen will come'

Sentences [16–21] demonstrate that gender agreement between an animate subject and a past or future tense verb form correlates significantly

with the presence of honorific inflection on the verb. In colloquial styles, on the other hand, it is perfectly correct to say *raja əe-l-əik* 'The king came' or *rani ɔ-t-əik* 'The queen will come'; here, the verbs agree neither in gender nor in honorific grade with their subject.

Feminine nouns frequently show formal similarities to related masculine nouns. Because the principles by which such forms are related are heterogeneous and irregular, a comprehensive account of these principles will not be practicable here. Nevertheless, some broad generalizations are possible concerning the formal similarities between feminines and the corresponding masculines.

A. *Tatsama* (i.e., words borrowed from Sanskrit) masculines have the original Sanskrit feminines as their counterparts:

Masculine		Feminine
chatr	'student'	*chatra*
putr	'son'	*putri*
dev/deb	'god'	*devi/debi*
bramhəṇ	'brahmin'	*bramhəṇi*
putrəban	'one blessed with a son'	*putrəbəti*
buddhiman	'wise/wise one'	*buddhiməti*
jñanban/gyanban	'wise/learned one'	*jñanbəti/gyanbəti*

B. In the native vocabulary, a number of distinct formal correspondences exist between masculine and feminine nouns:

(i) Some feminines derive from masculine nouns, either through a) suffixation or b) vowel modification.
(ii) In some cases, however, the relation between a feminine noun and the corresponding masculine is purely suppletive.

(ia) Suffixation: the suffixes which are added to masculine noun forms in order to form feminines are *-in*, *-ain*, *-ni*, and *-əin*.

-in ⟨ini⟩

The noun forms to which *-in* is added may be divided into two classes. Class 1 consists of those masculine nouns which end in a consonant and which undergo no change other than the suffixation of *-in*, e. g.,

Masculine		Feminine
bagh	'tiger'	*baghin*
jaṭ	'a caste name'	*jaṭin*

das	'servant/slave'	*dasin*
sãp	'snake'	*sãpin*
nəṭ	'a caste name'	*nəṭin*
dusadh	'a caste name'	*dusadhin*
khəbas	'servant'	*khəbasin*
sonar	'goldsmith'	*sonarin*
məlah	'fisherman'	*məlahin*
keɔṭ	'a caste name'	*keɔṭin*

Class 2 consists of masculine noun forms which end in a high front vowel *i* and which drop their final vowel *i* upon the suffixation of *-in*. (Most of these nouns refer to traditional caste-professions.) Examples are:

Masculine		Feminine
dhobi	'washerman'	*dhobin*
pasi	'palm wine man'	*pasin*
mali	'gardener'	*malin*
teli	'oilman'	*telin*
təmoli	'betel leaf man'	*təmolin*
pəṛosi	'neighbor'	*pəṛosin*
ṭhəṭheri	'potseller'	*ṭhəṭherin*

Most of the feminine nouns cited above (in both class 1 and 2) retain a final *i* in their present-day spelling. Thus, for example, *telin* 'oilwoman' is written as ⟨telini⟩, and *dusadhin* 'a caste name' as ⟨dusādhini⟩. Except in highly affected styles, however, the final *i* is dropped in actual pronunciation. Note also that in the absence of any standardized spelling, most trisyllabic (and some polysyllabic) feminine nouns may also be written as if they ended in a long *ī*. Thus, for example, ⟨dusādhini⟩ may also be written as ⟨dusādhinī⟩ and pronounced as [du'sadhni] 'a caste name'; or ⟨tamolini⟩ as ⟨tamolinī⟩, and pronounced as [tə'molni] 'betel leaf woman'.

-ain ⟨āini⟩

The suffix *-ain* is added to a few masculine nouns (dealing mostly with caste, and family names) to form feminines. Such masculine nouns may end in a vowel or in a consonant. If the masculine noun ends in a low central vowel *a*, this vowel is dropped when *-ain* is suffixed, e. g.,

Masculine		Feminine
ojha	'a family name'	*ojhain*
bənia/bəniya	'merchant caste'	*bəniain/bəniyain*
nonia/noniya	'a caste name'	*noniain/noniyain*
modi	'confectioner'	*modiain*
pitti	'uncle'	*pitiain*
cəudh(ə)ri	'a family name'	*cəudh(ə)rain*
pənḍit	'pundit'	*pənḍitain*
dhənik	'a rich'	*dhənikain*
dhanuk	'a caste'	*dhənukain*
misər	'a family name'	*mis(ə)rain*
ṭhakur	'a family name'	*ṭhəkurain*

-ni ⟨nī⟩

A few masculine nouns are changed into feminines through the suffixation of *-ni*. Examples:

Masculine		Feminine
ũṭ	'camel'	*ũṭni*
cor	'thief'	*corni*
siŋh	'lion'	*siŋhni*
rajput	'a caste'	*rəjputni*
masṭər	'teacher'	*masṭərni*
mukhtar	'clerk'	*mukhtarni*
dakṭər	'doctor'	*dakṭərni*
nokər	'servant'	*nokərni*
hathi	'elephant'	*həthini*
kuj(ə)ra	'vegetable vendor'	*kujərni*
bəŋgali	'Bengali'	*bəŋgalini*
banər	'monkey'	*bənərni*
mushər	'a caste'	*mushərni*
mehtər	'a sweeper caste'	*mehtərni*
donbar	'a caste'	*donbarni*
gidər	'wolf'	*gidərni*

-əin ⟨aini⟩

A few masculine nouns ending in *-ar* lose this ending when the feminine marker *-əin* is suffixed, e. g.,

Masculine		Feminine
cəmar	'a caste'	*cəməin*
kumhar	'potmaker'	*kumhəin*
kəmar	'a laborer'	*keməin*
lohar	'blacksmith'	*lohəin*

(ib) Vowel modification: a small set of masculine nouns become feminine through the replacement of a final *a* with *i*:

Masculine		Feminine	
kaka	'uncle'	*kaki*	'aunt'
aja	'grandfather'	*aji*	'grandmother'
baba	'grandfather'	*babi*	'grandmother'
piusa	'father's sister's husband'	*piusi*	'father's sister'
mɔsa	'mother's sister's husband'	*mɔsi/məusi*	'mother's sister'
dada	'uncle'	*dadi*	'aunt'
chɔ̃ra/chɔ̃ṛa	'boy'	*chəũri/chəũṛi*	*'girl'*
mama	'mother's brother'	*mami*	'mother's brother's wife'
nana	'mother's father'	*nani*	'maternal grandmother'
beṭa	'son'	*beṭi*	'daughter'
ghoṛa	'horse'	*ghoṛi*	'mare'
bacha	'calf'	*bachi*	'cow-calf'
bəgra	'sparrow'	*bəgri*	'female sparrow'
para	'young buffalo'	*pari*	'young cow buffalo'
bhəẽsa	'buffalo'	*bhəĩsi*	'cow buffalo'

Most such nouns refer to kinship relations or animals.

(ii) Suppletion: a few conceptually related masculines and feminines stand in a suppletive relationship, e. g.,

Human masculine		Human feminine	
bap	'father'	*mæ*	'mother'
bhai/bhæ	'brother'	*bəhin*	'sister'
		bhəuji	'brother's wife'
sæ̃	'husband'	*bəuh* ⟨*bahū*⟩	'wife'
munsa	'male/man'	*məugi*	'woman'
mər(ə)d	'male/man'	*jənana*	'woman'
bər	bridegroom	*kəniyã*	'bride'
raja	'king'	*rani*	'queen'
səsur	'wife's father'	*saus*	'wife's mother'
jaut	'husband's brother's son'	*jəidhi*	'husband's brother's daughter'
nəndois	'husband's sister's husband'	*nənəid*	'husband's sister'
purukh	'man/husband'	*istri* (Skt. ⟨strī⟩)	'woman/wife'

Nonhuman masculine		Nonhuman feminine	
bərəd	'ox'	*gai/gæ*	'cow'
chagər	'young he-goat'	*paṭhi*	'young she-goat'

3.2 Number

Modern Maithili has no grammatical number. Distinctions of number into singular and plural therefore mean little in the Maithili nominal system. Nevertheless, periphrastic plurality is indicated by the addition of a separate word, i. e., *səb* 'all' (which also occurs in written styles as *səbh*), rather than by morphological means:

(22) *jən æ-l*
laborer come-PST-(3NH)
'The laborer came.'

(23) *jən səb æ-l*
laborer all come-PST-(3NH)
'The laborers came.'

(24) *gæ cəir rəhəl əich*
cow graze PROG AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'The cow is grazing.'

(25) *gæ səb cəir rəhəl əich*
cow all graze PROG AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'The cows are grazing.'

The plural morpheme *səb* may also be placed before nouns. In such instances, *səb* functions as an adjective, and translates into English as "all the ...', e. g.,

(26) *səb jən æ-l*
all laborer come-PST-(3NH)
'All the laborers came.'

(27) *səb gæ cəir rəhəl əich*
all cow graze PROG AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'All the cows are grazing.'

Optionally, a plural morpheme *lokəin* 'people' may be used with human nouns – in order to indicate plurality as well as honorificity and politeness. Note that unlike *səb* 'all', *lokəin* 'people' can be used only after the human nouns, e. g.,

(28) *pənḍit əe-l-ah*
pundit come-PST-(3H)
'The pundit came.'

(29) *pənḍit lokəin aib ge-l-ah*
pundit people come go-PST-(3H)
'The pundits have (already) arrived.'

Sentence [30], however, is unacceptable in Maithili:

(30) **bhəĩs lokəin cəir rəhəl əich*
buffalo people graze PROG AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'The buffaloes are grazing.'

As is apparent from the above examples, Maithili verbs do not show number agreement.

3.3 Case

In earlier descriptions of Maithili (Grierson 1881 a: 8, 1909: 52; S. Jha 1958: 295), it has customarily been claimed that Maithili has eight cases: nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, and vocative. Upon scrutiny, however, this characterization of the Maithili case system proves to be inadequate. First, these descriptions tend to superimpose wholesale the Sanskrit case system upon Maithili without

sufficient consideration of the facts of Maithili grammar. For instance, the postulation of a vocative case is not well-motivated for Maithili.[2]. What have traditionally been called vocative case forms may in fact be viewed as forms of address (e. g., *yəu* (2H); *həu* (2MH) and *rəu* (2NH)) and thus listed as vocative particles elsewhere in the grammar. Second, these early descriptions retain two distinct case categories of accusative and dative. This case distinction is clearly meant to parallel the syntactic distinction between direct and indirect objects; nevertheless, the morphological analysis of Maithili nouns does not support an accusative-dative contrast. Thus, from a formal point of view, the distinction posed between accusative and dative is a clear case of overdifferentiation. Third, these early descriptions do not discriminate with sufficient care between case markers and postpositions, despite the fact that they acknowledge the existence of such a distinction in principle. In this study, by case markers is generally meant: either (i) morphological case, i. e., the so-called oblique case forms of pronouns, e. g., *həm* 'I' (Nom), but *həm-ra* 'me' (Acc-Dat), and *həm-ər* 'mine' (Genit); or (ii) case markers which are affixal, bound morphemes, e. g., *hath* 'hand' (Nom), but *hath-ẽ* 'by hand' (Instr) and *ram* 'Ram' (Nom), but *ram-ək* 'Ram's' (Genit). By contrast, the postpositions[3] are ordinarily viewed as non-affixal, free morphs, e. g., *ram sə̃* 'from Ram', *ghər pər* 'at home'. Consequently, the postpositions are not proper case markers and even behave somewhat differently. For instance, a postposition may combine with other case markers and postposition(s) in order to express specifically subtle shades of meaning. The following are illustrative:

(31) *həm-ra sə pəṛh-ba-u*
I-ACC/DAT by read-CAUS-IMP-(2H)
'Please (youH) have it/him taught by me.'

(32) *gam pər sə an-u*
village at from bring-IMP-(2H)
'Please (youH) bring (it) from the village.'

(33) *həm-ra me sə li-ə*
I-ACC/DAT in from take-IMP-(2H)
'Please (youH) take (it) from among mine.'

(34) *əpna khet-ək me sə la-u*
Your-REFL field-GENIT in from bring-IMP-(2H)
'Please (youH) bring from among those which are of your own field.'

In the analysis preferred here, Maithili nouns have five cases: nominative, accusative-dative, instrumental, genitive, and locative.

It is not always easy to predict which case a given noun will take, since several distinct factors may jointly determine a noun's case. It appears that cases are determined by: (a) the features of the noun itself (e. g., human vs. nonhuman; animate vs. inanimate; defininte/specific vs. indefinite/nonspecific, etc.); (b) the grammatical relations (e. g., subject, direct object, indirect object, etc.) that may exist between one noun and the other; and (c) the nature and quality of the verb in the sentence, which may allow or disallow the occurrence of a particular case in the noun.

Case relations are expressed in the following ways: a) by the absence of a case marker, e. g., the nominative case; b) by the suffixation of a case marker, e. g., the genitive case and the instrumental case (when the noun is not a human proper noun); and c) by the use of a postposition, e. g., instrumental, locative, and accusative-dative (however, see the discussion below).

The case inflections of nouns are in general quite straightforward as compared to the rather complex case inflections of the pronouns (see chapter 4). In other words, nouns show few if any morphophonemic alternations when they combine with a case marker or postposition. Where such alternations occur, they will be duly pointed out and discussed below.

Before the various case inflections are enumerated, one special peculiarity shared by most of these inflections should be carefully noted: the presence or absence of the nasalization in the case morphemes is one of the differences between the formal and colloquial styles of Maithili. In particular, the presence of nasalization is a characteristic sociolectal feature of what has been loosely called the 'standard' variety of Maithili (generally considered coterminous with the Brahmin dialect). No meaning difference is caused by the presence or absence of such nasalization. Nevertheless, this 'free variation' conveys sociolinguistic information about the speaker and his education, status, and even caste. This aspect of linguistic variation in Maithili needs to be investigated in depth.

The case inflections of Maithili are as follows.

3.3.1 Nominative

The nominative case in Maithili is indicated by the absence of any case marker. The noun in the nominative case performs the grammatical function of a subject:

(i) It may act as the subject of a copulative sentence, e. g.,

(35) *beŋ moṭ əich*
frog fat be-Pres-(3NH)
'The frog is fat.'

(36) *iswər ch-əith*
God be-PRES-(3H)
'God is/exists.'

(ii) It may also be used as the subject of a transitive or an intransitive sentence where the subject is also an agent, e. g.,

(37) *nokər pain ən-əit əich* Transitive
servant water bring-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'The servant brings the water.'

(38) *mohən kitab pəṛh-l-əinh*
Mohan book read-PST-(3H)
'Mohan read the book.'

(39) *chɔ̃ṛa ae-l/æ-l* Intransitive
boy come-PST-(3NH)
'The boy came.'

(40) *malik dəur-l-ah*
master run-PST-(3H)
'The master ran.'

It should be noted here that there is at least one exception to the claim that subjects are in the nominative, i. e., the existence of the so-called 'dative-subject' constructions. The 'dative-subject' constructions will be discussed in depth below.

3.3.2 Accusative-dative

The accusative-dative case in Maithili is marked by the postposition *ke*/*kẽ*. This postposition, however, may or may not actually be present in a given instance, as will be clear from the discussion below.

The noun phrase in the accusative-dative case generally performs the grammatical function of an object – direct or indirect. The object-mark-

ing strategy of modern Maithili is to encode both the direct and the indirect object with the same postposition *ke/kẽ*.

Direct object

The object-marking strategy in Maithili is determined by a set of two extrasyntactic criteria, namely animacy and definiteness. As a matter of fact, in Maithili a more relevant characteristic is not so much definiteness as specificity/individuation. We will take up the issues below one at a time.

Animacy

Under animacy, Maithili makes finer distinctions between human versus nonhuman, and animate versus inanimate. Thus:

(i) The postposition *ke/kẽ* is obligatorily present in those transitive constructions in which the direct object noun phrase happens to be a human proper name. Examples:

(41) *(əhã) mohən kẽ bəja-u*
you(H) Mohan ACC/DAT call-IMP-(2H)
'(YouH) call Mohan.'

(42) *həm jibəch kẽ dekh-əl-iəinh*
I Jibach ACC/DAT see-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I saw Jibach.'

By contrast, the names of animals (which are neutral to definite/indefinite reference) are unmarked for the accusative-dative case:

(43) *əhã hərin khəe-ne ch-i?*
you(H) deer eat-PERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Have you eaten a/the deer?'

(44) *tõ bagh chui-ne ch-əh?*
you(MH) tiger touch-PERF AUX-PRES-(2MH)
'Have you touched a/the tiger?'

The proper names of places are also unmarked for the accusative-dative case:

(45) *raja jənək jənəkpur səhər bəsɔ-l-əinh*
king Janak Janakpur town establish-PST-(3H)
'King Janak established the city of Janakpur.'

(46) *Japani səb pərl harbər bəm sə urɔ-l-ək*
Japanese PL Pearl Harbor bomb INSTR fly-PST-(3NH)
'The Japanese destroyed Pearl Harbor with bombs.'

(ii) Kin terms (which are always human in reference) are always marked for the accusative-dative case:

(47) *həm kaka kẽ sor par-əl-iəinh*
I uncle ACC/DAT noise do-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I called the uncle.'

(48) *tõ səsur kẽ gor*
you(NH) father-in-law ACC/DAT feet
ləg-əl-hunh
attach-PST-(2NH + 3H)
'You greeted (lit.: touched the feet of) the father-in-law.'

(iii) Personal pronouns are human in reference and are, therefore, marked for the accusative-dative case:

(49) *tõ həm-ra dekh-l-ẽ*
you(NH) I-ACC/DAT see-PST-(2NH + 1)
'You saw me.'

(50) *tõ hun-ka bəjɔ-l-hunh*
you(NH) he(H)-ACC/DAT call-PST-(2NH + 3H)
'You called him.'

(iv) Animate common nouns (which are indefinite in reference) are unmarked for the accusative-dative case:

(51) *həm turət ḍakṭər məŋɔ-l-əhũ*
I soon doctor call for-PST-(1)
'I called for a doctor immediately.'

(52) *əhã nokər tək-əit ch-i?*
you(H) servant search-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Are you looking for a servant?'

(53) *u gai kin-l-ək*
he(NH) cow buy-PST-(3NH)
'He bought a cow.'

(54) *tõ admi dekh-l-əhək?*
you(MH) man see-PST-(2MH)
'Did you see a man?'

(v) Inanimate object nouns are not marked for the accusative-dative case:

(55) *u həlla/(*həlla ke) kəe-l-ək*
he(NH) noise do-PST-(3NH)
'He made a/the noise.'

(56) *əhã nac/(*nac ke) dekh-əit ch-i*
you(H) dance see-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'You watch a/the dance.'

(57) *tõ dhan/(*dhan ke) kəṭ-l-əh*
you(MH) paddy cut-PST-(2MH)
'You harvested the paddy crop.'

(58) *tõ jamun/(*jamun ke) khəe-ne ch-e?*
you(NH) a fruit eat-PERF AUX-PRES-(2NH)
'Have you eaten a/the jamun?'

Definiteness

Maithili has no article comparable to English 'a/an'. The cardinal numeral *ek* 'one' followed by the classifier *-ṭa* is used to denote indefinite (but specific) objects. Such indefinite object nouns are not marked for the accusative-dative case:

(59) *həm ek-ṭa gai kin-əb*
I one-CLAS cow buy-FUT-(1)
'I will buy a cow.'

(60) *tõ ek-ṭa am tor-əit*
you(NH) one-CLAS mango pluck-IMPERF
ch-ẽ
AUX-PRES-(2NH)
'You are plucking a mango.'

(61) *u ek-ṭa cor pəkər-l-ək*
he(NH) one-CLAS thief catch-PST-(3NH)
'He caught a thief.'

Maithili has no article comparable to English 'the', either. Consequently, a number of linguistic devices are used to uniquely identify the referent of the direct object noun phrase.

To begin with, (i) all personal pronouns (i. e., excluding those labelled as indefinite) are definite pronouns. All object definite pronouns are obligatorily marked with the morphological accusative-dative case marker:

(62) *həm hun-ka dekh-əl-iəinh*
I he(H)-ACC/DAT see-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I saw him.'

(63) *tõ həm-ra dhəkəl-l-e*
you(NH) I-ACC/DAT push-PST-(2NH + 1)
'You pushed me.'

(64) *o to-ra piṭ-əl-khunh*
he(H) you(NH)-ACC/DAT beat-PST-(3H + 2NH)
'He beat you.'

(ii) All human proper names are definite; these are obligatorily marked for the accusative-dative case:

(65) *rəmes mohən kẽ hə̃s-ɔ-l-əinh*
Ramesh Mohan ACC/DAT laugh-CAUS-PST-(3H + 3NH)
'Ramesh caused Mohan to laugh.'

(66) *masṭər usa kẽ sor par-əl-khinh*
teacher Usha ACC/DAT noise do-PST-(3H + 3NH)
'The teacher called Usha.'

(iii) Possessive noun phrases are deemed to be definite in many languages of the world. In Maithili, however, the possessed nouns (alienable or inalienable) which are modified by a possessive pronoun and encoded by the morphological genitive case are not marked for the accusative-dative case:

(67) *tõ həm-ər deh chui-l-e*
you(NH) I-GENIT body touch-PST-(2NH + 1)
'You touched my body.'

(68) *u o-kər gai cərɔ-t-əik*
he(NH) he(NH)-GENIT cow graze-FUT-(3NH + 3NH)
'He will graze his cow.'

(69) *tõ o-kər əũri phoṛ-l-əhək*
you(MH) he(NH)-GENIT finger crack-PST-(2MH + 3NH)
'You cracked his fingers.'

(70) *həm hun-k-ər thari nəi uṭhəe-b-əinh*
I he(H)-GENIT dish not lift-FUT-(1 + 3H)
'I will not lift his dish.'

(iv) The demonstrative pronouns also have the function of marking definiteness through their deictic or article-like functions, e. g., *u admi* (that man) 'the man'; *i kitab* (this book) 'the book'.

(iva) Generally speaking, one would expect an object noun phrase comprising a demonstrative pronoun followed by a human common noun to be marked for the accusative-dative case for the simple reason that the noun phrase in question would be both definite and human in reference. Such, however, may not be the case in Maithili:

(71) *tõ u admi dekh-l-əhi(k)?*
you(NH) that man see-PST-(2NH + 3NH)
'Did you see that man?'

(72) *tõ i məugi cinh-b-əhək?*
you(MH) this woman recognize-FUT-(2MH + 3NH)
'Will you recognize this woman?

(ivb) Nonhuman and inanimate object noun phrases preceded by a determiner-like demonstrative pronoun are never marked with the accusative-dative case:

(73) *tõ u gai bənh-l-e*
you(NH) that cow tie-PST-(2NH)
'You tied the cow.'

(74) *həm i kitab pəṛh-l-əhũ*
I this book read-PST-(1)
'I read the book.'

(75) *tõ u khet jot-l-əh*
you(MH) that field plow-PST-(2MH)
'You plowed the field.'

(76) *u i gach kəṭ-l-ək*
he(NH) this tree cut-PST-(3NH)
'He felled the tree.'

Specificity

(i) The linguistic strategy used to turn the animate common noun objects (which are both indefinite and nonspecific) into definite and specific in reference is to mark them overtly with the accusative-dative case. Compare the following data:

Indefinite

(77) *əhã nokər tək-əit ch-i?*
you(H) servant search-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Are you looking for a servant?'

Indefinite, specific

(78) *əhã ek-ṭa nokər tək-əit*
you(H) one-CLAS servant search-IMPERF
ch-i?
AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Are you looking for a servant?'

Definite, specific

(79) *əhã nokər ke tək-əit*
you(H) servant ACC/DAT search-IMPERF
ch-i?
AUX-PRES-(2H + 3NH)
'Are you looking for the servant?'

Indefinite

(80) *həm gai bec-l-əhũ*
I cow sell-PST-(1)
'I sold a cow.'

Indefinite, specific

(81) *həm ek-ṭa gai bec-l-əhũ*
I one-CLAS cow sell-PST-(1)
'I sold a cow.'

Definite, specific

(82) *həm gai ke bec-l-əhũ*
I cow ACC/DAT sell-PST-(1 + 3NH)
'I sold the cow.'

Note that sentences [79] and [82], which have definite and specific object noun phrases, bear emphatic stress; they may also mean 'Are you looking for the *servant*?' and 'I sold the *cow*' respectively. Also, in a discourse situation, the speaker of sentences [79] and [82] assumes the hearer to share his presuppostion and to uniquely identify and individuate the referent of the object noun phrase. Ambiguity may, for instance, arise if the hearer disavows such knowledge; the following types of questions may disambiguate the ambiguity:

(83) *kək-ra/kon nokər ke tək-əit*
whom/which servant ACC/DAT search-IMPERF
ch-i?
AUX-PRES-(2H + 3NH)
'Whom/which servant are you looking for?'

(84) *kon gai ke bec-l-əhū?*
which cow ACC/DAT sell-PST-(2H+3NH)
'Which cow did you sell?'

(ii) In addition, two morphosyntactic devices are systematically used to convey specificity (and definiteness):

(iia) All possessed object nouns (human and nonhuman, animate or inanimate, alienable or inalienable), preceded by a possessive modifier pronoun encoded by the morphological accusative-dative case, are obligatorily marked for the accusative-dative case. The following examples are illustrative:

(85) *(tõ) həm-ra kaka kẽ*
you(NH) I-ACC/DAT uncle ACC/DAT
kəh-hunh
say-IMP-(2NH + 3H)
'(You) tell my uncle.'

(86) *u həm-ra məhis kẽ bənh-l-ək*
he(NH) I-ACC/DAT buffalo ACC/DAT tie-PST-(3NH + 1)
'He tied my buffalo.'

(87) *hun-ka jaŋh kẽ ke*
he(H)-ACC/DAT thigh ACC/DAT who
jə̃t-t-əinh?
press-FUT-(3NH + 3H)
'Who will press/massage his thigh?'

(88) *həm to-ra kursi kẽ*
I you(NH)-ACC/DAT chair ACC/DAT
ghuskəu-l-iəuk
push-PST-(1 + 2NH)
'I pushed your chair.'

(iib) All object noun phrases (human or nonhuman, animate or inanimate) preceded by a determiner-like demonstrative pronoun *ehi/ohi* 'this/that one' are obligatorily marked with the accusative-dative postposition:

(89) *tõ ohi/ehi admi kẽ dekh-l-əhik?*
you(NH) that/this man ACC/DAT see-PST-(2NH + 3NH)
'Did you see the man?'

(90) *həm ohi/ehi kitab kẽ pəṛh-l-əhũ*
I that/this book ACC/DAT read-PST-(1)
'I read the book.'

(91) *tõ ohi/ehi gai kẽ*
you(MH) that/this cow ACC/DAT
duh-hək
milk-IMP-(2MH + 3NH)
'(You) milk the cow.'

(92) *u ohi/ehi məugi kẽ*
he(NH) that/this woman ACC/DAT
puch-əl-kəik
ask-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'He asked the woman.'

(93) *həm ohi/ehi am kẽ tor-l-əhũ*
I that/this mango ACC/DAT pluck-PST-(1)
'I plucked the mango.'

(94) *ohi/ehi aig kẽ bujha-u*
that/this fire ACC/DAT extinguish-IMP-(2H)
'Extinguish the fire.'

Indirect object

Indirect objects are more likely to be personal pronouns, proper names, and animate common noun phrases; these will be obligatorily marked with the accusative-dative postposition. Needless to say, once the indirect object is case-marked, the direct object remains unmarked. Examples:

(95) *əhã jən kẽ jəlkhəi de-l-iəik*
you(H) laborer ACC/DAT breakfast give-PST-(2H + 3NH)
'You gave the laborer breakfast.'

(96) *həm rəmes kẽ kitab pəṛh-ɔ-l-iəinh*
I Ramesh ACC/DAT book read-CAUS-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I taught Ramesh the book.'

(97) *nokər ghoṛa kẽ ghas*
servant horse ACC/DAT grass
khi-ɔ-l-ək
eat-CAUS-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'The servant fed the horse grass.'

Animate indefinite indirect object noun phrases are also marked with the accusative-dative postposition:

(98) *jibəch ek-ṭa masṭər kẽ phis*
Jibach one-CLAS teacher ACC/DAT fees
de-l-ək
give-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'Jibach gave the teacher the fees.'

(99) *o ek-ṭa nokər kẽ pãc rupəiya*
he(H) one-CLAS servant ACC/DAT five rupees
de-l-khinh
give-PST-(3H + 3NH)
'He gave a servant five rupees.'

Inanimate indirect objects are unusual, but when they do occur, they tend to be marked with the accusative-dative postposition, as in the following example:

(100) *kuli səb səṛək kẽ pic kə rəhəl*
coolie PL road ACC/DAT pitch do PROG
əich
AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'The coolies are blacktopping the road.'

"Dative subject"

The accusative-dative postposition *ke/kẽ* is also used in those constructions which express subjective experiences, such as "liking and disliking,

states of health or sickness, happiness and unhappiness, dreaming, feeling, remembering, thinking, embarrassment, pity, doubt, pain, thirst, hunger, sleepiness, anger, urgency, and 'knowing' itself" (Masica 1976: 160). Such constructions typically put an experiencing subject in what has traditionally been called dative case:

(101) *babu kẽ bokhar laig ge-l-əinh*
father ACC/DAT fever attach go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'Father caught fever.'

(102) *kaka kẽ hə̃si laig ge-l-əinh*
uncle ACC/DAT laughter attach go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'The uncle burst into laughter.'

(103) *chɔ̃ṛa kẽ laj ho-it*
boy ACC/DAT shame be-IMPERF
ch-əik
AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'The boy is (being) shy.'

(104) *thanedar kẽ malum bhe-l-əinh*
jailer ACC/DAT knowledge become-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'The jailer came to know.'

One may want to suggest that the non-case-marked noun phrases be viewed as subjects and the 'dative' subjects as direct object noun phrases in sentences [101–104]. This is exactly how it turns out to be upon closer scrutiny of the secondary verb agreement pattern; note that the verbs in these sentences clearly agree with the case-marked noun phrases with respect to person and honorificity (see also 6.3.2). Note also that the above sentences typically use a conjunct verb construction (see 6.5.2).

Note further that Maithili sentences with so-called "dative subjects" express possession when they contain an auxiliary used as the main verb (for more information see 6.8). The following examples are illustrative:

(105) *nokər kẽ bokhar ch-əik*
servant ACC/DAT fever be-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'The servant has a fever.'

(106) *kaka kẽ krodh ch-əinh*
uncle ACC/DAT anger be-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
'The uncle feels anger.'

(107) *mæ kẽ səpna ch-əl-əinh*
mother ACC/DAT dream be-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'Mother had a dream.'

(108) *baba kẽ iccha ch-əl-əinh*
grandfather ACC/DAT desire be-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'The grandfather had the desire.'

(109) *usa kẽ ek-ṭa bhæ*
Usha ACC/DAT one-CLAS brother
ch-əik
be-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'Usha has a brother.'

(110) *jənardən kẽ dhən ch-əinh*
Janardan ACC/DAT wealth be-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
'Janardan has wealth.'

In highly affected styles, the accusative-dative postposition *kẽ* may be used to form adverbs of time, in a few constructions:

(111) *rait kẽ nəi a-u*
night during not come-IMP-(2H)
'Don't come at night.'

(112) *bhor kẽ ṭəhl-u*
morning during walk-IMP-(2H)
'Walk in the morning.'

In colloquial styles, however, the postposition *kə* 'during, inside' is used:

(113) *rait kə nəi a-u*
night during not come-IMP-(2H)
'Don't come at night.'

(114) *ghər kə dhə a-O*
house inside keep come-IMP-(2NH)
'Go and keep (it) inside the house.'

3.3.3 Instrumental

The instrumental case in Maithili is marked by the use of the postposition *səlsə̃*, and optionally by the suffixation of the case marker *-el/-ẽ*.

səlsə̃

(i) The postposition *səlsə̃* is joined with a noun which names the instrument by which is performed the action described by a verb, e. g.,

(115) *mæ cəkku sə̃ am soh-l-əinh*
mother knife INSTR mango peel-PST-(3H)
'The mother peeled the mango with a knife.'

(116) *nokər gæ kẽ jəur sə̃*
servant cow ACC/DAT rope INSTR
bənh-l-ək
tie-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'The servant tied the cow with a rope.'

(ii) *səlsə̃* is also used to express reason or cause:

(117) *kon karən sə̃ əe-l-əhũ?*
which reason INSTR come-PST-(2H)
'What brought you here?'

(118) *o həeja sə mər-l-ah*
he(H) cholera INSTR die-PST-(3H)
'He died of cholera.'

(119) *bhut sə nəi ḍera-u*
ghost INSTR not fear-IMP-(2H)
'Do not be afraid of ghosts.'

(iii) In direct causative constructions, when the action of the causative verb is beneficiary to the motivator (for causative verbs, see 6.4), the logical agent becomes only an instrument and is marked by the postposition *səlsə̃*:

(120) *malik nokər sə̃ mach mər-ɔ-l-əinh*
master servant INSTR fish kill-CAUS I-PST-(3H)
'The master caused the servant to catch fish.'

(121) *ṭhekedar jən sə̃ ĩṭa ḍho-ɔ-l-əinh*
contractor laborer INSTR brick carry-CAUSI-PST-(3H)
'The contractor caused the laborers to carry the bricks.'

(iv) In indirect causative constructions, both motivated agents are marked by the instrumental postposition *səlsə̃*:

(122) *malik ṭhekedar sə̃ jan sə̃ ĩṭa*
master contractor INSTR laborer INSTR brick
ḍhoə-bɔ-l-əinh
carry-CAUS II-PST-(3H)
'The master caused the contractor to have the bricks carried by the laborers.'

(123) *həm nokər sə̃ mæ sə̃ rupəiya*
I servant INSTR mother INSTR rupees
məŋ-bɔ-l-əhũ
ask-CAUS II-PST-(1)
'I caused the servant to have the money asked for by the mother.'

(v) In passive and capabilitative sentences (see 9.4.2), *səl/sə̃* is used with the agentive noun which functions as an instrument, e. g.,

(124) *i kaj mohən sə̃ khətəm kəe-l*
this work Mohan INSTR finish do-PSTPCPL
ge-l
go-PST-(3NH)
'This job was finished by Mohan/Mohan was able to finish this job.'

(125) *mehman sə̃ khæ-l nəi ge-l-əinh*
guest INSTR eat-PSTPCPL not go-PST-(3H)
'It could not be eaten by the guest/The guest could not eat (it).'

Ablative use of *səl/sə̃*

The instrumental postposition *səl/sə̃* is also used to express a host of 'ablative' relationships between nouns, e. g.,

(i) to express removal or separation:

(126) *pat gach sə̃ khəs-əl*
leaf tree INSTR fall-PST-(3NH)
'The leaf fell from the tree.'

(127) *sətru sə̃ bəc-i*
enemy INSTR save-IMP
'One should keep away from the enemy.'

(ii) to express the notion of source:

(128) *pəndit sə̃ puran sun-u*
pundit INSTR puraṇa hear-IMP-(2H)
'Listen to the Puraṇas from the Pundit.'

(129) *həm masṭər sə̃ əŋreji pəṛh-əit*
I teacher INSTR English read-IMPERF
ch-i
AUX-PRES-(1)
'I study English with the teacher.'

(iii) to indicate an object of comparison:

(130) *əhã kaka sə̃ choṭ ch-i*
you(H) uncle INSTR small be-PRES-(2H)
'You are younger than the uncle.'

(131) *o səb sə̃ jeṭh ch-əith*
he(H) all INSTR old be-PRES-(3H)
'He is the oldest of all.'

(iv) to express association or antagonism:

(132) *həm guru sə̃ bheṭ-l-əhũ*
I teacher INSTR meet-PST-(1)
'I met with the teacher.'

(133) *bhai sə̃ jhəgra nəi kər-i*
brother INSTR quarrel not do-IMP
'One should not quarrel with the brother.'

(v) to form manner adverbials:

(134) *o bəḍ kəṭhinai sə̃ pəṛh-l-əinh*
he(H) much difficulty INSTR read-PST-(3H)
'He studied with great difficulty.'

(135) *mən sə̃ pəṛh-u*
mind INSTR read-IMP-(2H)
'Read with attention.'

(vi) to express continued duration:

(136) *bhikhari tin din sə̃ bhukhəl əich*
beggar three day INSTR hungry be-PRES-(3NH)
'The beggar has been hungry for the last three days.'

(137) *babu-ji du sal sə̃ bimar ch-əith*
father-HP two year INSTR ill be-PRES-(3H)
'The father has been ill for the last two years.'

(vii) to express distance:

(138) *səhər sə̃ dur rəh-əb bes*
town INSTR far live-INF good
'It is better to live far from the city.'

(139) *həm bhæ sə̃ bhin bhə ge-l-əhũ*
I brother INSTR separate become go-PST-(1)
'I got separated from my brother.'

Traditionally, the ablative has been considered a separate case category in Maithili. From a strictly grammatical perspective, however, there is no motivation for postulating an ablative case distinct from the instrumental. Instead, it can simply be claimed that nouns joined with the postposition *sə/sə̃* may enter into either instrumental or ablative case relations depending upon the nature and semantics of the verb in the sentence. Consider, for example, the following pairs of sentences, in which the context clearly determines whether an ablative or an instrumental interpretation will prevail:

(140) a. *həm hun-ka laṭhi sə̃ mar-əl-iəinh*
I he(H)-ACC/DAT stick INSTR beat-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I beat him with a stick.'
b. **həm hun-ka laṭhi sə̃ mar-əl-iəinh*
I he(H)-ACC/DAT stick ABL beat-PST-(1 + 3H)

(141) a. *o gach sə̃ khəs-l-ah*
he(H) tree ABL fall-PST-(3H)
'He fell from the tree.'
b. **o gach sə̃ khəs-l-ah*
he(H) tree INSTR fall-PST-(3H)

Consider also the following ambiguously case-marked sentences in which the postposition *sə̃* may be interpreted as expressing both instrumental and ablative meanings:

(142) *həm hath sə̃ khəe-l-əhũ*
I hand INSTR eat-PST-(1)
'I ate by hand.'

(143) *həm hath sə̃ khəe-l-əhũ*
I hand ABL eat-PST-(1)
'I ate from (my) hand.'

(144) *o hath sə̃ phek-l-əinh*
he(H) hand INSTR throw-PST-(3H)
'He threw by hand.'

(145) *o hath sə̃ phek-l-əinh*
he(H) hand ABL throw-PST-(3H)
'He threw (it) off (his) hand.'

Once again, it is the context in which "noun phrase plus *sə̃*" is used that determines whether it will receive an ablative or an instrumental interpretation.

It should be remarked that there exists an additional mechanism which the speakers of Maithili tend to use in order to avoid confusion between the above two interpretations. For example, sentences [142–145], in their explicit ablative reading, will have the forms shown in sentences [146–147]:

(146) *həm hath me sə̃ khəe-l-əhũ*
I hand LOC ABL eat-PST-(1)
'I ate from (at) hand.'

(147) *o hath pər sə̃ phek-l-əinh*
he(H) hand LOC ABL throw-PST-(3H)
'He threw (it) off (his) hand.'

Thus, in these cases, there is again no distinct ablative form, but rather only a combination of locative with instrumental.

-el-ẽ

The instrumental case in Maithili may be optionally marked by the suffixation of the case marker *-el-ẽ* to the noun, provided that the latter is not animate, e. g.,

(148) *həm pær-ẽ əe-l-əhũ*
I foot-INSTR come-PST-(1)
'I came on foot.'

(149) *dəhina hath-ẽ kha-u*
right hand-INSTR eat-IMP-(2H)
'Eat with (your) right hand.'

(150) *kon karn-ẽ əe-l-əhũ?*
which reason-INSTR come-PST-(2H)
'What brought you here?'

Such cases are to be contrasted with examples such as the following:

(151) **həm nokər-ẽ mach mər-ɔ-l-əhũ*
I servant-INSTR fish kill-CAUS-PST-(1)
'I had the servant catch fish.'

(152) **beṭa kẽ ḍakṭər-ẽ jə̃c-bɔ-l-əhũ*
son ACC/DAT doctor-INSTR examine-CAUS-PST-(1)
'I had the son examined by the doctor.'

(153) **bəel-ẽ khet jot-əit ch-i*
ox-INSTR field plow-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I plow the field with oxen.'

3.3.4 Genitive

The genitive case in Maithili is marked by the case marker *-ək* when the noun phrase ends in a consonant, and by *-k* when it ends in a vowel. The noun phrase in the genitive case basically performs an adjectival function and qualifies the noun (or the noun-like adjective, or the verbal noun) to which it bears the case relationship.

The genitive case marker conveys the following semantic notions:

(i) kinship relations, e. g.,

(154) *raja-k beṭa*
king-GENIT son
'King's son.'

(155) *ram-ək bhæ*
Ram-GENIT brother
'Ram's brother.'

(ii) ownership or possession, e. g.,

(156) *bəniã-k dokan*
shopkeeper-GENIT shop
'The shopkeeper's shop.'

(157) *kaka-k kitab*
uncle-GENIT book
'The uncle's book.'

(iii) part–whole relationship, e. g.,

(158) *roṭi-k khə̃ṛa*
bread-GENIT piece
'A piece of bread.'

(159) *gach-ək ḍair*
tree-GENIT branch
'Branch of a tree.'

(iv) source, e. g.,

(160) *cənda jha-k ramayəṇ*
Chanda Jha-GENIT Ramayaṇa
'The Ramayaṇa of Chanda Jha.'

(161) *bərkha-k pain*
rain-GENIT water
Lit.: 'The water of rainfall'/'The rainwater.'

(v) the idea of English *made of*, e. g.,

(162) *ĩṭa-k məkan*
brick-GENIT house
'The house made of bricks'

(163) *sona-k həũsli*
gold-GENIT necklace
'The necklace (made) of gold.'

(vi) the idea of English *for*, e. g.,

(164) *hæja-k dəbai*
cholera-GENIT medicine
'The medicine for cholera.'

(165) *piba-k pain*
drink (verbal noun)-GENIT water
'The water for drinking.'

(vii) the idea of a chief characteristic, or of abstract virtues, e. g.,

(166) *phul-ək* *sobha*
flower-GENIT beauty
'The beauty of a flower.'

(167) *bəcca-k* *swəbhab*
child-GENIT nature
'The nature of a child.'

(168) *mæ-k* *məmta*
mother-GENIT love
'The love of a mother.'

(169) *sãp-ək* *səsr-əb*
snake-GENIT move-INF (verbal noun)
'The movement of a snake.'

(170) *putr-ək* *kərtəby*
son-GENIT duty
'The duty of a son.'

(viii) the idea of essence, e. g.,

(171) *ənar-ək* *sərbət*
pomegranate-GENIT juice
'The juice of the pomegranates.'

(172) *maus-ək* *jhor*
meat-GENIT soup
'The soup of the meat.'

(ix) the idea of cumulation (expressed through reduplication), e. g.,

(173) *hẽj-ək hẽj gæ*
'A lot of cow.'

(174) *gam-ək gam*
'A lot of villages.'

3.3.5 Locative

The locative case in Maithili is marked by the use of the postpositions *me* and *pər*. The locative case is basically the *in* or *at* case and expresses location. The following discussion illustrates some of the main semantic notions expressed by locative postpositions.

me 'in'

(i) location within or inside something, e. g.,

(175) *caur bora me əich*
rice sack LOC be-PRES-(3NH)
'The rice is in the sack.'

(176) *mæ ghər me ch-əith*
mother house LOC be-PRES-(3H)
'Mother is inside the house.'

(177) *phul me sugəndh ch-əik*
flower LOC fragrance be-PRES-(3NH)
'There is fragrance in the flower.'

(178) *cah me cini kəm əich*
tea LOC sugar less be-PRES-(3NH)
'There is less sugar in tea.'

(179) *suga pijra me əich*
parrot cage LOC be-PRES-(3NH)
'The parrot is in the cage.'

(ii) price of a thing, e. g.,

(180) *gobind jha-k byakərəṇ chɔ rupəiya me*
Govind Jha-GENIT grammar six rupees LOC
kin-l-əhũ
buy-PST-(1)
'I bought Govind Jha's grammar for six rupees.'

(181) *calis ṭaka me ek kilo mach*
forty rupee LOC one kilo fish
'Forty rupees for one kilo of fish.'

(iii) duration, e. g.,

(182) *həm-ər məkan ek sal me bən-əl*
I-GENIT house one year LOC make-PST-(3NH + 1)
'My house got constructed in one year's time.'

(183) *i upənyas du din me khətəm kəe-l-əhũ*
this novel two day LOC finish do-PST-(1)
'I finished this novel in two days.'

(iv) comparison, e. g.,

(184) *pãc-o me bes*
five-EMPH LOC good
'The best among five.'

(185) *bhai me jeṭh*
brother LOC old
'The eldest among the brothers.'

pər 'at', 'on'

pər is used to indicate:

(i) location at or on something, e. g.,

(186) *pahun kursi pər bəis-l-ah*
guest chair LOC sit-PST-(3H)
'The guest sat on the chair.'

(187) *kitab ṭebul pər əich*
book table LOC be-PRES-(3NH)
'The book is on the table.'

(188) *bhut ok-ra deh pər səbar*
ghost she-ACC/DAT body LOC ride
bhe-l
become-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'The ghost possessed her body.'

(189) *o ghoṛa pər cəṛh-l-əith*
he(H) horse LOC ride-PST-(3H)
'He rode (on) the horse.'

(ii) point of time and place, e. g.,

(190) *əpn-e jəgəh pər bəis-u*
REFL-EMPH place LOC sit-IMP-(2H)
'Please take your respective seats.'

(191) *ṭaim pər bhojən kər-u*
time LOC meal do-IMP-(2H)
'Have your meal on time.'

(iii) aftermath of an action, e. g.,

(192) *khəe-la pər*[4] *bujhæ-t*
eat (verbal noun) LOC feel-FUT-(3NH + 2H)
'You will feel (it) after having eaten (it).'

(193) *ge-la pər bhẽṭ hoe-t*
go (verbal noun) LOC meeting be-FUT-(3NH + 2H)
'You will meet (him) after going (there).'

(iv) objects of anger, mercy, faith, etc., e. g.,

(194) *o nokər pər bigər-l-ah*
he(H) servant LOC anger-PST-(3H)
'He became angry with the servant.'

(195) *bhəgban pər bhərosa rakh-u*
God LOC faith keep-IMP-(2H)
'Have faith in God.'

(196) *gərib pər dəya kər-u*
poor LOC mercy do-IMP-(2H)
'Be kind to the poor.'

3.3.6 Noun declensions

Human singular

	Masculine	Feminine
	raja 'king'	*rani* 'queen'
Nom	*raja*-0	*rani*-0
Acc/Dat	*raja ke/kẽ*	*rani ke/kẽ*
Instr	*raja sə/sə̃*	*rani sə/sə̃*
Genit	*raja-k*	*rani-k*
Loc	*raja me/pər*	*rani me/pər*

Human plural

Nom	*raja səbh*-0	*rani səbh*-0
Acc/Dat	*raja səbh ke/kẽ*	*rani səbh ke/kẽ*
Instr	*raja səbh sə/sə̃*	*rani səbh sə/sə̃*
Genit	*raja səbh-ək*	*rani səbh-ək*
Loc	*raja səbh me/pər*	*rani səbh me/pər*

Nonhuman singular

	hathi 'elephant'	*kitab* 'book'
Nom	*hathi-0*	*kitab-0*
Acc/Dat	*hathi (ke/kẽ)*	*kitab (ke/kẽ)*
Instr	*hathi səl sə̃*	*kitab səl sə̃*
Genit	*hathi-k*	*kitab-ək*
Loc	*hathi melpər*	*kitab melpər*

Nonhuman plural

Nom	*hathi səbh-0*	*kitab səbh-0*
Acc/Dat	*hathi səbh (ke/kẽ)*	*kitab səbh (ke/kẽ)*
Instr	*hathi səbh səl sə̃*	*kitab səbh səl sə̃*
Genit	*hathi səbh-ək*	*kitab səbh-ək*
Loc	*hathi səbh melpər*	*kitab səbh melpər*

3.4 The noun phrase

A noun phrase in Maithili may consist of a head which is either a noun or a pronoun or a gerundial infinitive expression:

(197) *mohən ge-l* — Proper noun
Mohan go-PST-(3NH)
'Mohan went'

(198) *chɔ̃ṛa səb æ-l* — Common noun
boy PL come-PST-(3NH)
'The boys came'

(199) *tõ hə̃s-l-e* — Personal pronoun
you(NH) laugh-PST-(2NH)
'You laughed'

(200) *ke pəis-əl?* — Interrogative pronoun
who enter-PST-(3NH)
'Who entered?'

(201) *ṭəhl-əb/ṭəhəl-nai nik hæ-t* — Gerundial infinitive
walk-INF good become-FUT-(3NH)
'Walking will be good.'

In sentences [197–201], *mohən, chɔ̃ṛa səb, tõ, ke,* and *ṭəhləb/ṭəhəlnai* are examples of noun phrases. A noun phrase may also consist of a head preceded by a modifier:

(202) *ek-ṭa raja*
one-CLAS king
'A king'

(203) *i kitab*
this book
'The book'

(204) *ok-ər ghər*
he(NH)-GENIT house
'His house'

(205) *kətek caur*
'How much rice'

(206) *dəur-əit chɔ̃ṛa*
run-PRESPTCPL boy
'The running boy'

(207) *ṭuṭ-əl khaṭ*
break-PSTPTCPL cot
'The broken cot'

Modifiers in Maithili are mostly determiners. Determiners may be definite or indefinite. The demonstrative pronouns, the relative and correlative pronouns *je* and *se*, and the genitive inflections of the personal pronouns function as definite determiners, whereas the indefinite pronouns *kono* 'any' and *kiuch* 'some', and the cardinal numeral *ek* 'one' followed by the classifier *-ṭa*, function as indefinite determiners. The following examples are illustrative:

Demonstrative pronoun, deictic:

(208) *i gai (ehi gai kẽ) banh-u*
this cow (this cow ACC/DAT) tie-IMP-(2H)
'Tie the cow.'

Demonstrative pronoun, anaphoric:

(209) *kailh ek-ṭa am khæe-ne rəh-i*
yesterday one-CLAS mango eat-PERF AUX-PST-(1)
u am bəḍ miṭh ch-əl
that mango very sweet be-PST-(3NH)
'Yesterday I ate a mango; the mango was very sweet.'

Demonstrative pronoun, cataphoric:

(210) *toh-ər babu-e o pəhəlman*
you(NH)-GENIT father-EMPH that wrestler
ch-əl-khunh je ok-ra
be-PST-(3H + 2NH) who he(NH)-ACC/DAT
hərə-l-əinh

nəi ch-əl
not be-PST-(3NH)
'The man you gave was not good.'

Indefinite pronoun:

(213) *kono admi æ-l ch-əl?*
any man come-PERF AUX-PST-(3NH)
'Did a man come?'

(214) *kiuch dhan di-ə*
some paddy give-IMP-(2H)
'Please (you) give (me) some paddy.'

Cardinal numeral one:

(215) *ek-ṭa raja rəh-əith*
one-CLAS king be-PST-(3H)
'(Once) there was a king.'

Other types of modifier also appear in the noun phrase. Often these are adjectives, quantifiers, limiters, numerals (from two upwards), and present and past participial expressions. Examples:

(216) *kari gai nəi kin-əb* Adjective
black cow not buy-FUT-(1)
'I will not buy a/the black cow.'

(217) *bəhut log æ-l* Quantifier
many people come-PST-(3NH)
'Many people came.'

boy.'

(221) *tinu chɔ̃ṛa ke am*
all the three boy ACC/DAT mango
di-əuk Aggregative numeral
give-IMP-(2H + 3NH)
'Give mango to all the three boys.'

(222) *dəur-əit ghoṛa ke ke*
run-PRESPTCPL horse ACC/DAT who
pəkr-ət? Present participial
catch-FUT-(3NH)
'Who will catch the running horse?'

(223) *əhã pəṛh-əl log ch-i* Past participial
you(H) read-PSTPTCPL person be-PRES-(2H)
'You are an educated person.'

Determiners and other types of modifiers combine in Maithili to form complex noun phrases. A few examples are given below:

(224) *ek-ṭa lal am*
Numeral one-CLAS + ADJ + Head N
'A red mango'

(225) *kono moṭ laṭhi*
INDEF PR + ADJ + Head N
'Any fat club'

(226) *kono pãc admi*
INDEF PR + Numeral + Head N
'Any five men'

(227) *kono du-ṭa lal sari*
INDEF PR + Numeral-CLAS + ADJ + Head N
'Any two red saris'

(228) *i lal sari*
DEMONS PR + ADJ + Head N
'The red sari'

(229) *i pãc-o-ṭa lal sari*
DEMONS PR + AGGREG Numeral-CLAS + ADJ + Head N
'All the five red saris'

(230) *i pəhil ujjər dhoti*
DEMONS PR + Ordinal Numeral + ADJ + Head N
'The first white dhoti'

(231) *i pãc dərjən supari*
DEMONS PR + Numeral + Collective + Head N
'These five dozen nuts'

(232) *həm-ər du-nu ujjar ghər*
GENIT PR + AGGREG Numeral + ADJ + Head N
'Both of my white houses'

(233) *kono dəur-əit ghoṛa*
INDEF PR + PRESPCPL + Head N
'A running horse'

(234) *u hə̃s-əit məugi*
DEMONS PR + PRESPCPL + Head N
'The smiling woman'

(235) *u pãc-o pak-əl am*
DEMONS PR + AGGREG Numeral + PSTPCPL + Head N
'All the five ripe mangoes'

(236) *həm-ər i du-nu sukha-it lal sari*
GENIT PR + DEMONS PR + AGGREG Numeral + PRESPCPL + ADJ + Head N
'Both of the drying red saris of mine'

(237) *həm-ər kono du-nu sukha-it lal sari*
GENIT PR + INDEF PR + AGGREG Numeral + PRESPCPL + ADJ + Head N
'Any of the two drying red saris of mine'

The above examples demonstrate that the normal order in a (complex) noun phrase in Maithili is for the genitive and the indefinite/demonstrative prnominal determiners to precede the adjective. In other words, other modifiers precede adjectives in Maithili noun phrases.

Three further observations should be made about noun phrases in Maithili:

(i) In a noun phrase construction, the head noun shows no agreement with the number of the modifying element, e. g.,

(238) *i məugi*
'This woman'

(239) *i səb məugi*
'These women'

(ii) The entire noun phrase may be case-marked, e. g.,

(240) *həm-ər kono du-nu sukha-it lal sari kẽ lə ja-u*
'Take away any of the two drying red saris of mine'

(241) *ohi hə̃s-əit məugi sə̃ ke baj-ət*
'Who will speak to the smiling woman!'

(iii) Noun phrases may also have modifying elements coming after the head noun. These are called 'postmodifiers'. For instance, a relative clause may function as a postmodifier noun phrase in Maithili:

(242) *u chɔ̃ṛa jək-ra həm nik jəkã*
that boy who-ACC/DAT I good POSTPOSITION
cinh-əit ch-iəik
recognize-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1 + 3NH)
'The boy whom I know well.'

(243) *i bidyarthi je kailh æ-l*
this student who yesterday come-PERF
ch-əl
AUX-PST-(3NH)
'The student who came yesterday.'

Chapter four
The pronoun

4.1 Inflection

Maithili pronouns are marked for person and honorificity,[1] number, and case, but not for gender.[2]

4.1.1 Person and honorificity

There are three persons in Maithili – first, second, and third. The first person is indeterminate as to honorificity. The second and third persons, however, show forms which contrast in honorificity, showing honorific and nonhonorific (see 4.2.1). In addition to the personal pronouns, other types of pronouns also have honorific and nonhonorific forms, as will be seen below.

4.1.2 Number

Like nouns, Maithili pronouns may also be made plural by the addition of a following morpheme: *səb/səbh* 'all', or *lokəin* 'people' (provided that the pronoun is both animate and honorific in reference). Maithili verbs, however, inflect identically for singular and plural pronoun forms. The following examples are illustrative:

(244) *tõ əe-l-e*
You(NH) come-PST-(2NH)
'You came'

(245) *tõ səb əe-l-e*
You(NH) PL come-PST-(2NH)
'You came' (lit.: 'You all came')

(246) *əhã jae-b/jæ-b*
You(H) go-FUT-(2H)
'You will go'

(247) *əhā̃ səb jae-b/jæ-b*
You(H) PL go-FUT-(2H)
'You will (all) go'

(248) *həm ja-it ch-i*
I go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I go/I am going'

(249) *həm səb ja-it ch-i*
I PL go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'We go/We are going'

As was shown in chapter 3.2, plural nouns may be either preceded or followed by the plural morpheme *səb*; the same is not true, however, of pronouns, which are never preceded by this morpheme. The following sentences, for example, are unacceptable:

(250) **səb əhā̃ ja-u* 'You (all) go.'

(251) **lokəin əhā̃ ja-u* 'You (all) go.'

(252) **lokəin o ge-l-ah* 'They went.'

(253) **səb u ge-l* 'They went.'

(254) **səb həm ja-it ch-i* 'We are going.'

(255) **lokəin pənḍit əe-l-ah* 'The Pundits came.'

The following sentences, however, are acceptable:

(256) *səb chɔ̃ṛa cəil ae-l/æl*
all boy walk come-PST-(3NH)
'All the boys came back.'

(257) *səb lok baj-əl*
all people speak-PST-(3NH)
'All the people spoke.'

(258) *səb gach suikh ge-l*
all tree dry go-PST-(3NH)
'All the trees dried.'

4.1.3 Case

The case system of the pronouns is more complex than that of the nouns. While it is true that more or less the same case markers and postpositions

are used as for nouns, their use in expressing various case relationships is different for the pronouns; in addition, pronouns are subject to special morphophonemic alternations when a case marker is suffixed. These peculiarities of pronominal case-marking will be discussed under the declension of the different classes of pronouns below in section 4.2.

4.2 Classes of pronouns

Seven classes of pronouns must be recognized: personal, demonstrative, interrogative, relative, possessive, reflexive, and indefinite.

4.2.1 Personal pronouns

4.2.1.1 Person and honorificity

The personal pronouns and their distinctions in number and honorificity are given below:

	Singular	Plural
First person	*həm*	*həm səb/lokəin*
Second person		
High honorific	*əpne*	*əpne səb/lokəin*
Honorific	*əhā̃*	*əhā̃ səb/lokəin*
Midhonorific	*tõ*	*tõ səb/lokəin*
Nonhonorific	*tõ*	*tõ səb*
Third person		
Honorific	*o*	*o səb/lokəin*
Nonhonorific	*u/o*	*u/o səb*

Maithili pronouns present a rather complex situation. The importance of choosing the right pronoun (accompanied by appropriate verbal inflections) in the right situation can hardly be overemphasized. A foreigner (a U.S. Peace Corps volunteer would be a good example) who learns to speak 'correct' Maithili and then uses honorific forms to address even junior servants is an object of ridicule. An illiterate farmer who, while visiting the school teacher of his young son, uses pronouns correctly but

leaves out the accompanying appropriate verbal inflections is equally an object of ridicule. Thus, there exists a complex situation (leading to constant code-switching) in which the choice of a pronoun depends on kinship and the speaker's estimation of his/her own self *vis-à-vis* the age, position, educational background, profession, economic status, caste, etc., of the addressee.

A few of the chief characteristics of the Maithili personal pronouns are noted below:

(i) The first person and the second person midhonorific as well as the nonhonorific pronouns do not make pronominal distinctions between honorific and nonhonorific forms.

(ii) In the absence of distinct pronoun forms for the honorific and the nonhonorific, the verbal inflections make up for this, as it were, by marking the honorific distinction clearly. The following examples are illustrative:

(259) *həm əi-l-i*
I come-PST-(1NH)
'I came'

(260) *həm əe-l-əhũ*
I come-PST-(1H)[3]
'I came'

(261) *tõ əe-l-əh*
You(MH) come-PST-(2MH)
'You came'

(262) *tõ əe-l-e*
You(NH) come-PST-(2NH)
'You came'

(iii) The second person has a fourfold distinction, i. e., High honorific (HH), Honorific (H), Midhonorific (MH), and Nonhonorific (NH). A detailed sociolinguistic study of the second person pronominal usage in varying dyadic relations in real-life situations remains to be done (for an excellent study of pronominal selection based on 16 written texts in Maithili, the reader is referred to Singh 1989). Nevertheless, a few tentative observations are offered here:

əpne, the pronoun of the highest conceivable honor and respect, is used for persons of high rank usually (but not universally) coupled with old age, and for the in-laws.[4] Examples:

(263) *əpne bəis-əl ja-e*
You(HH) sit-PSTPCPL go-IMP-(2HH)
'Please be seated.'

(264) *əpne bhojən kəe-l ja-e*
You(HH) meal do-PSTPCPL go-IMP-(2HH)
'Please eat.'

Note specifically the use of passive-like constructions with *əpne*. It should also be noted that in formal circumstances there is a growing tendency to substitute *əpne* (2HH) for *əhã* (2H).[5]

əhã is the safest as well as the most frequently used pronoun in Maithili. It is used for persons to whom the speaker wants to pay respect or should pay respect under social obligations. It is also used between friends and colleagues, between husband and wife,[6] between relatives (by marriage), and between strangers in order to avoid offense. Of late, there is a growing tendency on the part of (educated) elders and superiors to use *əhã* even for younger children – a situation which would otherwise warrant the use of *tõ* (NH).

tõ (MH) is used for elders (though not necessarily superiors) and for such kinsmen as father, uncle, elder brother, etc.[7] In villages, where persons are regarded as being kinsmen (*gãvaka nātāsã* 'by village relation'), even an uneducated untouchable elder would receive *tõ* (MH) from a younger educated person of high caste and high status.[8] In a similar vein, a junior educated untouchable (of status) will receive *tõ* (MH) or even *əhã* (H) from high caste elders – thereby implying that personal attributes (e. g., job, position, education, etc.) may prevail over age and caste in the determination of deference in the Maithili pronominal system.[9]

The pronoun *tõ* (NH) should either be avoided or used with extreme caution. In general, *tõ* (NH) is used for mother and sister (both married and unmarried), by elder kinsmen for younger children (the usage is on the decline though, as remarked above), by master for junior servants (a senior servant will receive *tõ* (MH) accompanied by the appropriate verbal ending), and by intimate young children for one another. To sum up, the use of *tõ* (NH) is viewed as uncouth and impolite; the user is viewed as "having fouled his own mouth", as it were.

(iv) An inclusive[10] plural pronoun form *əpna səb/səbh* (referring to both the speaker and the addressee[s]) also exists in Maithili, e. g.,

(265) *əpna səb cəl-u*
We-INCLUSIVE go-IMP (1/2H)
'Let's go – you and me.'

(266) *i ḍhəua əpna səbh-ək əich*
this money We-INCLUSIVE-GENIT AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'This money belongs to us (i. e., you and me).'

The declension of the inclusive plural pronoun is exactly like that of other personal pronouns, and therefore need not be listed here.

4.2.1.2 Declension of personal pronouns

	First Person Honorific		First Person Nonhonorific	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*həm*	*həm səb*	*həm*	*həm səb*
Accusative-Dative	*həm-ra*	*həm-ra səb kẽ*	*həm-ra*	*həm-ra səb kẽ*
Instrumental	*həm-ra sə̃*	*həm-ra səb sə̃*	*həm-ra sə̃*	*həm-ra səb sə̃*
Genitive	*həm-ər*	*həm-ər səbh-ək*[11] (*həm-ra səbh-ək*)	*həm-ər*	*həm-ər səbh-ək* (*həm-ra səbh-ək*)
Locative	*həm-ra me*	*həm-ra səb me*	*həm-ra me*	*həm-ra səb me*

	Second Person High honorific		Second Person Honorific	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*əpne*	*əpne səb*	*əhã*	*əhã səb*
Accusative-Dative	*əpne kẽ*	*əpne səb kẽ*	*əhã kẽ*	*əhã səb kẽ*
Instrumental	*əpne-sə̃*	*əpne səb sə̃*	*əhã sə̃*	*əhã səb sə̃*
Genitive	*əpne-k*	*əpne səbh-ək*	*əhã-k*	*əhã səbh-ək*
Locative	*əpne me*	*əpne səb me*	*əhã me*	*əhã səb me*

	Midhonorific		Nonhonorific	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	tõ[12]	*tõ səb*	*tõ*	*tõ səb*
Accusative-Dative	to(*h*)*-ra*	*to*(*h*)*-ra səb kẽ*	*to-ra*	*to-ra səb kẽ*
Instrumental	to(*h*)*-ra- sə̃*	*to*(*h*)*-ra səb sə̃*	*to-ra sə̃*	*to-ra səb sə̃*
Genitive	*toh-ər*	*toh-ər səbh-ək*	*toh-ər*	*toh-ər səbh-ək* (*to-ra səbh-ək*)
Locative	to(*h*)*-ra me*	*to*(*h*)*-ra səb me*	*to-ra me*	*to-ra səb me*

Concerning the above declensions of the first and second person pronouns, several points are to be noted:

(i) The nominative case lacks any overt marking in Maithili pronouns.

(ii) In the first and second (MH and NH) persons, the accusative-dative case is marked by the suffixation of the case marker *-ra* in the singular (e. g., *həm-ra* 'to me', *to-ra* 'to you') and by the suffixation of the morphological case marker *-ra* followed by the postposition *ke/kẽ* in the plural, with the plural marker *səb/səbh* following the case markers (e. g., *həm-ra səb kẽ* 'to us', *to-ra səb kẽ* 'to you').

In the second person (HH and H), however, the accusative-dative is marked by *ke/kẽ* alone in both singular and plural numbers (e. g., *əpne kẽ*; *əhã kẽ*; *əpne səb kẽ*; *əhã səb kẽ* 'to you').

(iii) The instrumental-ablative case is marked by the case marker *-ra* and the postposition *sə/sə̃* in the second person (MH and NH) singular, with *səb* inserted after the case marker in the plural pronouns (e. g., *həm-ra sə̃* 'by me'; *həm-ra səb sə̃* 'by us'; *to-ra sə̃*; *to-ra səb sə̃* 'by you').

In the second person (HH and H) singular and plural forms, however, the instrumental-ablative case lacks a case marker, which leads to forms such as *əpne sə̃*; *əpne səb sə̃*; *əhã sə̃*; *əhã səb sə̃* 'by you').

(iv) The genitive case is marked by the suffixation of the morphological case marker *-ər* in the singular forms of the first and second (MH and NH) person pronouns (e. g., *həm-ər* 'mine', *toh-ər* 'yours') and by the suffixation of the double morphological case markers *-ər* and *-ək* in the plural forms of the first and second (MH and NH) person pronouns (e. g., *həm-ər səbh-ək* 'ours'; *toh-ər səbh-ək* 'yours').

In the second person (HH and H) pronoun forms, however, the genitive case is marked by the suffixation of a single morphological case marker *-ək* (which is only *-k* in vowel-ending stems) in both singular and plural numbers (e. g., *əpne-k*; *əpne səbh-ək*; *əhã-k*; *əhã səbh-ək* 'yours').

(v) The locative case is marked by double case markers, i. e., by the suffixation of the morphological case marker *-ra* and by the use of the postposition *me* in the first and second person (MH and NH) pronoun forms in both singular and plural numbers (e. g., *həm-ra me* 'in me'; *həm-ra səb me* 'in us'; *to-ra me*; *to-ra səb me* 'in you').

In the second person (HH and H) pronoun forms, however, the locative is marked by the use of the postposition *me* alone in both singular and plural (e. g., *əpne me*; *əpne səb me*; *əhã me*; *əhã səb me* 'in you').[13]

(vi) To sum up, the case morphology of the first and second (MH and NH) persons is alike (and quite different from that of Maithili nouns), while the case morphology of the second person (HH and H) pronoun forms is quite regular (and therefore similar to that of the nouns).

4.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns (third person pronouns)

As was noted above, the third person pronoun and the demonstrative pronouns are the same.

The demonstrative pronouns are of two types – (i) proximate and (ii) remote. The proximate demonstrative pronouns refer to the person or object which is near and within sight, while the remote demonstrative pronouns refer to the person or object which is either far and within sight or not necessarily within sight. These are shown below:

	Third Person/Demonstrative Pronouns	
	Singular	Plural
Honorific		
proximate	*i*	*i səb/lokəin*
remote	*o*	*o səb/lokəin*
Nonhonorific		
proximate	*i*	*i səb*
remote	*u/o*	*u səb* *o səb*

Examples:

(267) *i ke ch-əith?*
this(H) who AUX-PRES-(3H)
'Who is he/this person?'

(268) *i ki əich?*
this what AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'What is this (you've got)?'

(269) *i lokəin kətə rəh-əit ch-əith?*
this(H) PL where live-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'Where do they/these people live?'

(270) *o kəhi(y)a jəe-t-ah?*
he(H) which day go-FUT-(3H)
'When will he/that person go?'

(271) *o lokəin aib ge-l-ah*
he(H) PL come go-PST-(3H)
'They/those people arrived already'

(272) *u ke əich?*
he(NH) who AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'Who is he?'

(273) *u ki əich?*
that what AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'What is that (you've got)?'

(274) *u səb ke əich?*
he(NH) PL who AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'Who are they/those people?'

(275) *u kitab di-(y)ə*
that book give-IMP-(2H)
'Give (me) that book!'

4.2.2.1 Declension of demonstrative pronouns

Human	Proximate			
	Honorific		Nonhonorific	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*i*	*i səb*	*i*	*i səb*
Accusative-Dative	*hin-ka*	*hin-ka səb kẽ*	*ek-ra*	*ek-ra səb kẽ*
Instrumental	*hin-ka sə̃*	*hin-ka səb sə̃*	*ek-ra sə̃*	*ek-ra səb sə̃*
Genitive	*hin-k-ər* *hin-ək*	*hin-ka səbh-ək* *hin-k-ər səbh-ək*	*ek-ər*	*ek-ər səbh-ək* *ek-ra səbh-ək*
Locative	*hin-ka me*	*hin-ka səb me*	*ek-ra me*	*ek-ra səb me*
	Remote			
	Honorific		Nonhonorific	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*o*	*o səb*	*u*	*u səb*
Accusative-Dative	*hun-ka*	*hun-ka səb kẽ*	*ok-ra*	*ok-ra səb kẽ*
Instrumental	*hun-ka sə̃*	*hun-ka səb sə̃*	*ok-ra sə̃*	*ok-ra səb sə̃*
Genitive	*hun-k-ər* *hun-ək*	*hun-ka səbh-ək* *hun-k-ər səbh ək*	*ok-ər*	*ok-ər səbh-ək* *ok-ra səbh-ək*
Locative	*hun-ka me*	*hun-ka səb-me*	*ok-ra me*	*ok-ra səb me*

The third person/demonstrative nonhonorific pronouns are also used for nonhuman objects (both animate and inanimate), e. g.,

(276) *kənek i kitab dekh-u*
a little this book see-IMP-(1)
'Let me see this book for a moment!'

(277) *u gai kin-k-ər ch-əinh?*
that cow who(H)-GENIT AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
'Whose cow is that?'

Nonhuman	Proximate		Remote	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*i*	*i səb*	*u*	*u səb*
Accusative-Dative	*ehi kẽ*	*ehi səb kẽ*	*ohi kẽ*	*ohi səb kẽ*
Instrumental	*ehi sə̃*	*ehi səb sə̃*	*ohi sə̃*	*ohi səb sə̃*
Genitive	*ek-ər*	*ek-ər səbh-ək*	*ok-ər*	*ok-ər səbh-ək*
		ek-ra səbh-ək		*ok-ra səbh-ək*
Locative	*ehi me*	*ehi səb me*	*ohi me*	*ohi səb me*

A few examples:

(278) *ehi kẽ nəhĩ mar-iəuk*
this ACC/DAT not kill-IMP-(2H + 3NH)
'Do not kill it (e. g., this snake).'

(279) *həm-ra ohi sə̃ kaj naĩ cəl-ət*
I-ACC/DAT that INSTR work not walk-FUT-(3NH + 1)
'That (e. g., money) will not do for me.'

(280) *dhan ohi me rakh-u*
paddy that LOC keep-IMP-(2H)
'Keep paddy in that (e. g., granary).'

(281) *ehi sə̃ supari naĩ phuṭ-ət*
this INSTR nut not break-FUT-(3NH)
'This (e. g., knife) will not crack the betel nut.'

What is worth noting is that the demonstrative pronouns *ehi*, *ohi*, and others are used as determiners for both animate (including human) and inanimate nouns, e. g.,

(282) *ehi gai kẽ ab bec di-(y)ə*
this cow ACC/DAT now sell give-IMP-(2H)
'Sell this cow now.'

(283) *ehi admi kẽ həm naĩ rakh-əb*
this man ACC/DAT I not keep-FUT-(1 + 3NH)
'I will not hire this man.'

(284) *ohi chɔ̃ṛa kẽ bəja-u*
that boy ACC/DAT call-IMP-(2H)
'Call that boy.'

(285) *ohi khet-ək dam kətek?*
that field-GENIT price how much
'How much is the price of that field?'

(286) *ehi bəṛəd sə̃ bina bəṛd-e nik*
this ox INSTR without ox-EMPH better
'It is better to be without an ox than to have this one.'

(287) *ohi chɔ̃ṛa səbh-ək kono dokh nəhĩ*
that boy PL-GENIT any fault not
'Those boys are not to blame at all.'

Note, however, that when they are used as pronouns rather than as determiners, the nonhonorific demonstratives have distinct forms according to whether they are human or nonhuman in reference. Compare, for example, the following pairs of sentences:

(288) *ehi kẽ nəhĩ rakh-əb*
this ACC/DAT not keep-FUT-(1 + 3NH)
'I will not keep this (cow, chair, etc.).'

(289) *ek-ra nəhĩ rakh-əb*
this-ACC/DAT not keep-FUT-(1 + 3NH)
'I will not keep this (boy, servant, etc.).'

(290) *ohi sə̃ kaj nəhĩ cəl-ət*
that INSTR work not walk-FUT-(3NH)
'That (e. g., amount of money) will not do.'

(291) *ok-ra sə̃ kaj nəhĩ cəl-ət*
that-ACC/DAT INSTR work not walk-FUT-(3NH)
'He (e. g., that boy, that servant) will not do.'

Finally, demonstrative pronouns in Maithili perform the following three functions:

(i) deictic:

(292) *i gai bəḍ dudhgəir əich*
this cow much full of milk be-PRES-(3NH)
'The cow/this cow gives a lot of milk.'

(293) *u kitab bəḍ kəṭhin ch-əl*
that book much hard be-PST-(3NH)
'The book/that book was very hard.'

(ii) anaphoric:

(294) *kailh həm ek-ṭa am khəe-ne*
yesterday I one-CLAS mango eat-PERF
rəh-i u am bəḍ miṭh ch-əl
AUX-PST-(1) that mango much sweet be-PST-(3NH)
'Yesterday I ate a mango, it was very sweet.'

(295) *həm ek-ṭa kitab pəiṛh rəhəl ch-i u*
I one-CLAS book read PROG AUX-PRES-(1) that
kitab bəḍ kəṭhin əich
book much hard be-PRES-(3NH)
'I am reading a book, it is very hard.'

(iii) cataphoric:

(296) *həm-r-e səŋi i ch-əith je*
I-GENIT-EMPH friend this be-PRES-(3H) REL
əmerika ge-l ch-əl-ah
America go-PERF AUX-PST-(3H)
'He is my friend who had been to the United States.'

(297) *ok-r-e gəũã u pəhəlman*
he(NH)-GENIT-EMPH villager that wrestler
ch-əl je gama ke
be-PST-(3NH) REL Gama ACC/DAT
hərəu-l-kəik
defeat-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'His villager was the wrestler who defeated Gama.'

4.2.3 Interrogative pronouns

There are two interrogative pronouns in Maithili: *ke* 'who' and *kilkəthi* 'what'. *ke* alone is human in reference, and thus has both honorific and nonhonorific forms, to be shown distinctly in the verbal agreement but also, and most importantly, in the morphology of the forms themselves. *kilkəthi*, on the other hand, is used for nonhuman (and inanimate) objects

and naturally does not have honorificity distinctions. The following examples are illustrative:

(298) *əhã ke ch-i?*
You(H) who AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Who are you?'

(299) *ke ch-əith?*
who(H) AUX-PRES-(3H)
'Who is (he)?'

(300) *ke əe-l-ah?*
who(H) come-PST-(3H)
'Who came?'

(301) *tõ ke ch-e?*
You(NH) who AUX-PRES-(2NH)
'Who are you?'

(302) *i ke bəj-l-ah?*
this who(H) speak-PST-(3H)
'Who (is he who) spoke?'

(303) *ki rəh-əik?*
what be-PST-(3NH)
'What was (there)?'

(304) *ki səb bhe-l-əik?*
what PL become-PST-(3NH)
'What happened?'

(305) *ki kə(e) rəhəl ch-i?*
what do PROG AUX-PRES-(2H)
'What are you doing?'

(306) *ki khəe-ne ch-i?*
what eat-PERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'What have you eaten?'

(307) *kilkəthi le-b?*
what take-FUT-(2H)
'What will you take?/What do you want?'

(308) *ki kər-b-əh?*
what do-FUT-(2MH)
'What will you do?'

(309) *khet me ki cəir rəhəl əich?*
field in what graze PROG AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'What is grazing in the field?'

(310) *aĩkh me ki pəir ge-l?*
eye in what lie go-PST-(2NH)
'What fell into (your) eyes?'

4.2.3.1 Declension of interrogative pronouns

Human	*ke* 'who'			
	Honorific		Nonhonorific	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*ke*	*ke səb*	*ke*	*ke səb*
Accusative-Dative	*kin-ka*	*kin-ka səb kẽ*	*kek-ra* (*kək-ra*)	*kek-ra səb kẽ* (*kək-ra səb-kẽ*)
Instrumental	*kin-ka sə̃*	*kin-ka səb-ə̃*	*kek-ra sə̃* (*kək-ra sə̃*)	*kek-ra səbh-sə̃* (*kək-ra səbh-sə̃*)
Genitive	*kin-k-ər* (*kin-ək*)	*kin-ka səbh-ək*	*kek-ər* (*kək-ər*)	*kek-ra səbh-ək* (*kək-ra səbh-ək*)
Locative	*kin-ka me*	*kin-ka səb me*	*kek-ra me* (*kək-ra me*)	*kek-ra səb me* (*kək-ra səb me*)

Nonhuman and inanimate	*ki/kəthi* 'what'	
	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*ki/kəthi*	*ki-səb*[14]*/kəthi səb*
Accusative-Dative	*ki/kəthi kẽ*	*ki səb/kəthi səb kẽ*
Instrumental	*kəthi sə̃*	*kəthi səb sə̃*
Genitive	*kəthi-k*	*kəthi səbh-ək*
Locative	*kəthi me*	*kəthi səb me*

4.2.4 Relative pronouns

The relative pronouns in Maithili are *je* 'who' (used for humans with both honorific and nonhonorific forms) and *je* 'what' (used for nonhumans with no honorific–nonhonorific distinctions).

4.2.4.1 Declension of relative pronouns

Human	*je* 'who'	
	Honorific	
	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*je*	*je səb*
Accusative-Dative	*jin-ka* (*jəni-ka*)	*jin-ka səb kẽ* (*jəni-ka səb kẽ*)
Instrumental	*jin-ka sə̃* (*jəni-ka sə̃*)	*jin-ka səb sə̃* (*jəni-ka səb-sə̃*)
Genitive	*jin-k-ər* (*jəni-k-ər*) (*jəni-k*)	*jin-ka səbh-ək* (*jəni-ka səbh-ək*)
Locative	*jin-ka me* (*jəni-ka me*)	*jin-ka səb me* (*jəni-ka səb me*)
	Nonhonorific	
	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*je*	*je səb*
Accusative-Dative	*jek-ra* (*jək-ra*)	*jek-ra səb kẽ* (*jək-ra səb kẽ*)
Instrumental	*jek-ra sə̃* (*jək-ra sə̃*)	*jek-ra səb sə̃* (*jək-ra səb sə̃*)
Genitive	*jek-ər* (*jək-ər*)	*jek-ra-səbh-ək* (*jək-ra səbh-ək*)
Locative	*jek-ra me* (*jək-ra me*)	*jek-ra səb me* (*jək-ra səb me*)

Nonhuman	*je* 'what'	
	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*je*	*je səb*
Accusative-Dative	*jahi kẽ*	*jahi səb kẽ*
Instrumental	*jahi sə̃*	*jahi səb sə̃*
Genitive	*jahi-k/*(*jahi*(NP)*-k*)[15] (*jək-ər*)	*jahi səbh-ək* (*jək-ra səbh-ək*)
Locative	*jahi me*	*jahi səb me*

4.2.5 Correlative pronouns

The correlative pronoun in Maithili is *se*. The various *j*-forms of the relative pronoun, when followed in the main clause by their corresponding

correlative pronoun forms (*s-/t*-base) of *se*, serve as relative clause markers (see chapter 9.6.2). Like *je*, *se* has distinct forms depending on whether it is human or nonhuman in reference.

4.2.5.1 Declension of correlative pronouns

Human — *se* 'he, she, they'

Honorific

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*se*	*se səb*
Accusative-Dative	*tin-ka* (*təni-ka*)	*tin-ka səb kẽ* (*təni-ka səb kẽ*)
Instrumental	*tin-ka sə̃* (*təni-ka sə̃*)	*tin-ka səb sə̃* (*təni-ka səb sə̃*)
Genitive	*tin-k-ər* (*təni-k-ər*) (*təni-k*)	*tin-ka səbh-ək* (*təni-ka səbh-ək*)
Locative	*tin-ka me* (*təni-ka me*)	*tin-ka səb me* (*təni-ka səb me*)

Nonhonorific

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*se*	*se səb*
Accusative-Dative	*tek-ra* (*tək-ra*)	*tek-ra səb kẽ* (*tək-ra səb kẽ*)
Instrumental	*tek-ra sə̃* (*tək-ra sə̃*)	*tek-ra səb sə̃* (*tək-ra səb sə̃*)
Genitive	*tek-ər* (*tək-ər*)	*tek-ra səbh-ək* (*tək-ra səbh-ək*)
Locative	*tek-ra me* (*tək-ra me*)	*tek-ra səb me* (*tək-ra səb me*)

Nonhuman — *se* 'it, they'

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*se*	*se səb*
Accusative-Dative	*tahi kẽ*	*tahi səb kẽ*
Instrumental	*tahi sə̃*	*tahi səb sə̃*
Genitive	*tahi-k*/(*tək-ər*)	*tahi səbh-ək*
Locative	*tahi me*	*tahi səb-me*

A few examples of the relative pronouns and their correlative counterparts are given here; cf. also chapter 9.6.2:

(311) *je bidyarthi kailh ae-l/æ-l rəh-əith*
REL student yesterday come-PERF AUX-PST-(3H)
se bimar pəir ge-l-ah
COREL sick lie go-PST-(3H)
'The student who came yesterday got sick.'

(312) *jin-ka sə̃ le-l-əhũ*
REL(H)-ACC/DAT ABL take-PST-(2H)
tin-ka də di-əunh
COREL(H)-ACC/DAT give GIVE-IMP-(2H + 3H)
'Give (it) back to him from whom you took (it).'

(313) *jək-ra səb kẽ mən*
REL-(NH)-ACC/DAT PL ACC/DAT mind/wish
ch-əuk tək-ra səb
AUX-PRES-(3NH + 2NH) COREL-(NH)-ACC/DAT PL
kẽ bəja
ACC/DAT call-IMP-(2NH)
'Call (those people) whom you wish.'

(314) *i gai jin-k-ər ch-əinh*
this cow REL-(H)-GENIT AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
tin-ka bəj-au
COREL-(H)-ACC/DAT call-IMP-(2H)
'Call the man whose cow it is.'

4.2.6 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns, which are case-marked for the genitive, are listed below:

	Singular	Plural
First person	*həm-ər*	*həm-ər səbh-ək* *həm-ra səbh-ək*
Second person		
High honorific	*əpne-k*	*əpne səbh-ək*
Honorific	*əhã-k*	*əhã səbh-ək*

Midhonorific +		*toh-ər səbh-ək*
Nonhonorific	*toh-ər*	*to-ra səbh-ək*
Third person		
Remote		
Honorific	*hun-k-ər*	*hun-k-ər səbh-ək*
	hun-ək	*hun-ka səbh-ək*
Nonhonorific	*ok-ər*	*ok-ər səbh-ək*
		ok-ra səbh-ək
Proximate		
Honorific	*hin-k-ər*	*hin-k-ər səbh-ək*
		hin-ka səbh-ək
Nonhonorific	*ek-ər*	*ek-ər səbh-ək*
		ek-ra səbh-ək

4.2.6.1 Declension of possessive pronouns

The declined forms of possessive pronouns have determiner functions. These are nevertheless listed here in order to provide a complete paradigm.

First person

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*həm-ər*	*həm-ər səbh-ək*
Accusative-Dative	*həm-ra* (NP) *kẽ*	*həm-ra səbh-ək* (NP) *kẽ*
Instrumental	*həm-ra* (NP) *sə̃*	*həm-ra səbh-ək* (NP) *sə̃*
Locative	*həm-ra* (NP) *me*	*həm-ra səbh-ək* (NP) *me*

Second person

High honorific	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*əpne-k*	*əpne səbh-ək*
Accusative-Dative	*əpne-k* (NP) *kẽ*	*əpne səbh-ək* (NP) *kẽ*
Instrumental	*əpne-k* (NP) *sə̃*	*əpne səbh-ək* (NP) *sə̃*
Locative	*əpne-k* (NP) *me*	*əpne səbh-ək* (NP) *me*

Honorific	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*əhā̃-k*	*əhā̃ səbh-ək*
Accusative-Dative	*əhā̃-k* (NP) *kẽ*	*əhā̃ səbh-ək* (NP) *kẽ*
Instrumental	*əhā̃-k* (NP) *sə̃*	*əhā̃ səbh-ək* (NP) *sə̃*
Locative	*əhā̃-k* (NP) *me*	*əhā̃ səbh-ək* (NP) *me*

Midhonorific + Nonhonorific	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*toh-ər*	*toh-ər səbh-ək*
Accusative-Dative	*to-ra* (NP) *kẽ*	*to-ra səbh-ək* (NP) *kẽ*
Instrumental	*to-ra* (NP) *sə̃*	*to-ra səbh-ək* (NP) *sə̃*
Locative	*to-ra* (NP) *me*	*tora-səbh-ək* (NP) *me*

Third person

Remote

Honorific	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*hun-k-ər*	*hun-k-ər səbh-ək*
Accusative-Dative	*hun-ka* (NP) *kẽ*	*hun-ka səbh-ək* (NP) *kẽ*
Instrumental	*hun-ka* (NP) *sə̃*	*hun-ka səbh-ək* (NP) *sə̃*
Locative	*hun-ka* (NP) *me*	*hun-ka səbh-ək* (NP) *me*

Nonhonorific	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*ok-ər*	*ok-ər səbh-ək*
Accusative-Dative	*ok-ra* (NP) *kẽ*	*ok-ra səbh-ək* (NP) *kẽ*
Instrumental	*ok-ra* (NP) *sə̃*	*ok-ra səbh-ək* (NP) *sə̃*
Locative	*ok-ra* (NP) *me*	*ok-ra səbh-ək* (NP) *me*

Proximate

Honorific	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*hin-k-ər*	*hin-k-ər səbh-ək*
Accusative-Dative	*hin-ka* (NP) *kẽ*	*hin-ka səbh-ək* (NP) *kẽ*
Instrumental	*hin-ka* (NP) *sə̃*	*hin-ka səbh-ək* (NP) *sə̃*
Locative	*hin-ka* (NP) *me*	*hin-ka səbh-ək* (NP) *me*

Nonhonorific	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*ek-ər*	*ek-ər səbh-ək*
Accusative-Dative	*ek-ra* (NP) *kẽ*	*ek-ra səbh-ək* (NP) *kẽ*
Instrumental	*ek-ra* (NP) *sə̃*	*ek-ra səbh-ək* (NP) *sə̃*
Locative	*ek-ra* (NP) *me*	*ek-ra səbh-ək* (NP) *me*

4.2.7 The reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun in Maithili is *əpne* 'self'; also *əpnəhĩ*, i. e., *əpne* + *hĩ* ('self' + EMPH) in affected styles. Examples are:

(315) *həm əpne ən-l-əhũ*
I REFL bring-PST-(1)
'I brought (it) myself.'

(316) *tõ* *əpne* *ge-l-e*
You(NH) REFL go-PST-(2NH)
'You went yourself.'

(317) *o* *əpnə-hĩ* *əe-l-ah*
he(H) REFL-EMPH come-PST-(3H)
'He came himself.'

The declension of the reflexive pronoun is quite regular, except that the reflexive possessive form is *əpən*..

əpne 'self'

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*əpne*	*əpne səb*
Accusative-Dative	*əpna kẽ*	*əpna səb kẽ*
Instrumental	*əpne sə̃*	*əpne səb sə̃*
Genitive	*əpən*	*əpna səbh-ək*
Locative	*əpna me*	*əpna səb me*

The following examples are illustrative:

(318) *jɔn* *əpna* *kẽ* *kaiṭ* *le-l-əinh*
John REFL ACC/DAT cut take-PST-(3H)
'John cut himself.'

(319) *meri* *əpna* *kẽ* *umedbar* *bənɔ-l-ək*
Mary REFL ACC/DAT candidate make-PST-(3NH)
'Mary nominated herself a candidate.'

(320) *həm* *əpən* *bərnən* *likh-l-əhũ*
I REFL description write-PST-(1)
'I wrote a description of myself.'

(321) *pain* *əpna* *me* *bəha-u*
water REFL LOC flow-IMP-(2H)
'Let the water flow in your own.'

4.2.8 Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns in Maithili are *keo* 'someone, anyone' and *kichu* 'something, anything'. *Keo* is used for human nouns alone and has honorificity distinctions, while *kichu* (or even *kiuch*) is used for inanimate objects and consequently does not have honorific–nonhonorific distinctions.

In addition, there are two more indefinite pronouns: *kedən* (i.e., the interrogative pronoun *ke* + *dən*) 'somebody unknown', and *kidən* (i.e., the interrogative pronoun *ki* + *dən*) 'something unknown'.

4.2.8.1 Declension of indefinite pronouns

Human	*keo* 'someone, anyone'	
	Honorific	Nonhonorific
Nominative	*keo*	*keo*
Accusative-Dative	*kin-ko*	*kek-ro/kək-ro*
Instrumental	*kin-ko sə̃*	*kek-ro sə̃/kək-ro sə̃*
Genitive	*kin-kə-ro*	*kek-ro/kək-ro*
Locative	*kin-ko me*	*kek-ro me/kək-ro me*

	kedən 'someone unknown'
Nominative	*kedən*
Accusative-Dative	*kek-ra dən kẽ/kək-ra-dən kẽ*
Instrumental	*kek-ra dən sə̃/kək-ra-dən sə̃*
Genitive	*kek-ra dən-ək/kək-ra-dən-ək*
Locative	*kek-ra-dən me/kək-ra-dən me*

Inanimate	*kichu* 'something, anything'
Nominative	*kichu*
Accusative-Dative	*kichu kẽ*
Instrumental	*kichu sə̃/kəthu sə̃*
Genitive	*kichu-k/kəthu-k*
Locative	*kichu me/kəthu me*

	kidən 'something unknown'
Nominative	*kidən/kəthidən*
Accusative-Dative	*kidən kẽ/kəthidən kẽ*
Instrumental	*kidən sə̃/kəthidən sə̃*
Genitive	*kəthidən-ək*
Locative	*kidən me/kəthidən me*

4.3 Pronominal adjectives

All pronouns of Maithili, excepting the first and second person pronouns and the indefinite pronouns *keo*, *kedən* and *kidən*, can be used as determiners/adjectives. Such pronominal adjectives will be discussed in chapter 5.

Chapter five
Adjectives, modifiers, determiners, and numerals

5.1 Adjectives

Adjectives in Maithili show no number or case distinctions. Gender distinctions are shown, but only marginally.

5.1.1 Definite and indefinite adjectives

Adjectives are of two types: definite and indefinite. In general, definite adjectives are formed by adding the definite masculine suffix *-ka* or the definite feminine suffix *-ki* to the adjectival stem, e. g., nəb 'new'; *nəbka* 'the new one (masculine)'; *nəbki* 'the new one (feminine)'.

Alternatively, a few definite adjectives (especially the ones which are past participial adjectives) are formed by adding the definite masculine suffix *-aha* or the definite feminine suffix *-ahi* to the adjectival base (see also 5.1.2). A few examples are given below for illustration:

(322) *nik* 'good'

(323) *nik-ha* 'the good one (M)'

(324) *nik-hi* 'the good one (F)'

(325) *jərəl* 'burnt'

(326) *jərl-aha* 'the burnt one (M)'

(327) *jərl-ahi* 'the burnt one (F)'

Indefinite adjectives, on the other hand, consist of the adjectival stems themselves, e. g., *lal* 'red', *kari* 'black', etc. A few indefinite adjectives may show gender distinctions in certain styles (see note 2).

5.1.2 Gender

In modern Maithili, adjectives, like nouns, have no grammatical gender.[1] Natural gender distinctions in adjectives are, however, maintained in a limited manner.

(i) Definite adjectives modifying nouns which are animate in reference show masculine and feminine forms. The definite suffix appears as *-ka* in masculine forms and as *-ki* in feminine forms:

Masculine

(328) *moṭ-ka mərəd* 'the fat man'

(329) *choṭ-ka kəka* 'the younger uncle'

(330) *kəri-kka bəṛəd* 'the black ox'

(331) *ujər-ka ghoṛa* 'the white horse'

(332) *ləl-ka chagər* 'the red young he-goat'

(333) *əgil-ka purukh* 'the man in the front'

(334) *pəhil-ka bəcca* 'the first (male) child'

Feminine

(335) *moṭ-ki jənana* 'the fat woman'

(336) *choṭ-ki kaki* 'the wife of the younger uncle'

(337) *kəri-kki gæ* 'the black cow'

(338) *ujər-ki ghoṛi* 'the white mare'

(339) *ləl-ki paṭhi* 'the red young she-goat'

(340) *əgil-ki jənana* 'the woman in the front'

(341) *pəhil-ki bəcci* 'the first (female) child'

But, nondefinite adjectives do not vary according to gender,[2], e. g.,

	Masculine	Feminine
(342)	*lal ghoṛa* 'a red horse'	*lal ghoṛi* 'a red mare'
(343)	*kari bəṛəd* 'a black ox'	*kari gæ* 'a black cow'
(344)	*nik chɔ̃ṛa*'a good boy'	*nik chəũṛi* 'a good girl'
(345)	*choṭ mərəd* 'a small man'	*choṭ məugi* 'a small woman'
(346)	*pəigh mərəd* 'a tall man'	*pəigh məugi* 'a tall woman'

(ii) The diminutive forms of adjectives which modify nouns with inanimate reference usually have forms ending in *-i*:

(347) *choṭ-ki kəṭori/baṭi* 'the small bowl', but

(348) *bəṛ-ka kəṭora/bəṭṭa* 'the big bowl'.

(349) *choṭ-ki thari* 'the small dish', but

(350) *bəṛ-ka thar* 'the large dish'.

(351) *choṭ-ki chipli* 'the small plate', but

(352) *bəṛ-ka chipa* 'the large plate/dish'.

(353) *choṭ-ki khopri* 'the small hut', but

(354) *bəṛ-ka ghər* 'the big house'.

Note, however, that there is nothing 'feminine' about *choṭ-ki*, but that *-i* is simply sometimes used in the derivation of diminutive nouns (e. g., *thar-i*) and also occurs in the 'diminutive adjective' *choṭ-ki*. Note also that *thari* or *kəṭori* would never be referred to as 'she' in Maithili.

(iii) In certain sociolects (usually characteristic of the Brahmanic speech), the past participial adjectives are also known to change for gender, as illustrated below:

(355) *sutəl purukh* 'the sleeping man', but

(356) *sutəl*^{i} *stri* 'the sleeping woman'.

(357) *muil pitaməh* 'the dead grandfather',

(358) *muil*^{i} *pitaməhi* 'the dead grandmother'.

(359) *jagəl balək* 'the wakeful boy / the boy who is awake', but

(360) *jagəl*^{i} *kənya* 'the wakeful girl / the girl who is awake'.

Note that the final front high unrounded vowel [i] is pronounced very short in such dialects and is usually transcribed as raised [i] by S. Jha (1958). The exact phonetic quality and the phonological behavior of such word final and the so-called "very short" (S. Jha 1958) vowels need to be investigated in detail.

Note also that this custom of using two separate masculine and feminine adjective forms is on sharp decline of late, and is in fact totally lost in other (i. e., non-Brahmanic) dialects. This fact has been noted by S. Jha (1958: 355–356) also:

There is already the growing tendency of doing away with the feminine affix *-i* from such cases in the speech of the younger generation: so one may now use an expression like *muil*^{a} *mãug*^{a} ([muil maug] – R. Y.), 'a dead woman'.

5.1.3 Predicative and attributive uses of adjectives

In Maithili, adjectives are used both attributively and predicatively. Examples are given below:

Attributive

(361) *lal dhoti buṛhari me ki pəhir-əb*
red dhoti old age in what wear-FUT-(2H)
'One should not wear a red dhoti in old age.'

(362) *baləl lel ek-ṭa sundər kənya tak-u*
boy for one-CLAS beautiful girl search-IMP-(2H)
'Search for a good-looking girl for the boy.'

(363) *choṭ-ka kəka kailh əu-t-ah*
small-DEF(M) uncle tomorrow come-FUT-(3H)
'The younger uncle will come tomorrow.'

(364) *nəb-ki bhəuji aib ge-l-ih*
new-DEF(F) elder brother's wife come go-PST-(3H,F)
'The new sister-in-law has arrived.'

(365) *ujər-ka ghoṛa bəḍ tej dəur-əit*
white-DEF(M) horse very fast run-IMPERF
əich
AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'The white horse runs very fast.'

Predicative

(366) *i bəṛəd kari əich*
this ox black be-PRES-(3NH)
'This ox is black.'

(367) *hun-k-ər stri gor ch-əthinh*
he(H)-GENIT wife white be-PRES-(3H + 3H)
'His wife is fair-complexioned.'

(368) *i dhoti bəḍ lal əich*
this dhoti very red be-PRES-(3NH)
'This dhoti is very red.'

(369) *hin-k-ər putəuh sundər ch-əinh*
he(H)-GENIT son's wife beautiful be-PRES-(3H + 3H)
'His daughter-in-law is good-looking.'

(370) a. *həm-ər kəka choṭ ch-əith*
I-GENIT uncle short be-PRES-(3H)
'My uncle is short.'
b. **həm-ər kəka choṭ-ka ch-əith*
I-GENIT uncle short-DEF(M) be-PRES-(3H)
'My uncle is short.'

(371) a. *toh-ər bhəuji nəb*
You(NH)-GENIT elder brother's wife new
ch-əthunh
be-pres-(3H + 2NH)
'Your sister-in-law is new.'
b. **toh-ər bhəuji nəb-ki*
You(NH)-GENIT elder brother's wife new-DEF(F)
ch-əthunh
be-PRES-(3H + 2NH)
'Your sister-in-law is new.'

(372) a. *u ghoṛa ujər əich*
that horse white be-PRES-(3NH)
'That horse is white.'
b. **u ghoṛa ujər-ka əich*
that horse white-DEF(M) be-pres-(NH)
'That horse is white.'

As is apparent from the above, the definite adjectives cannot occur predicatively in Maithili. Consequently, sentences 370 b, 371 b and 372 b are unacceptable.

On the other hand, there are a few adjectives which do not occur attributively:

(373) *bəcca khus əich*
child happy be-PRES-(3NH)
'The child is happy.'

(374) **khus[3] bəcca kẽ sor par-u*
happy child ACC/DAT call do-IMP-(2H)
'Call the happy child.'

(375) *nokər təiyar əich*
servant ready be-PRES-(3NH)
'The servant is ready.'

(376) **təiyar nokər kẽ bəja-u[4]*
ready servant ACC/DAT call-IMP-(2H)
'Call the ready servant.'

(377) *pənḍit ji aikailh dhən kəma kə nihal bhə*
Pundit HP these days wealth earn CP happy become
ge-l ch-əith
go-PERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'These days Pundit ji has become happy by amassing wealth.'

(378) **nihal pənḍit kẽ nɔt də a-u*
happy Pundit ACC/DAT invitation give come-IMP-(2H)
'(Go and) invite the happy Pundit ji.'

(379) *ram ṭhik ch-əith*
Ram all right be-PRES-(3H)
'Ram is all right.'

(380) **ṭhik ram kẽ kəh-iəunh*
all right Ram ACC/DAT say-IMP-(2H + 3H)
'Tell it to all right Ram.'

(381) *i gai ṭhik əich*
this cow all right be-PRES-(3NH)
'This cow is all right.'

(382) **ṭhik gai cər-əit əich*
all right cow graze-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'The all right cow is grazing.'

5.1.4 Adjectives of comparison

There are no morphological formations for adjectives of comparison in Maithili.[5] In general, comparative and superlative adjectives are expressed by syntactic devices.

The comparative construction is formed by using the noun or pronoun which is compared as the subject of the sentence and by suffixing the instrumental-ablative postposition *sə/sə̃* to the noun or pronoun with which the comparison is made. The normal order is for the standard of comparison to precede the comparative; in other words, the adjective follows the noun or pronoun to which the postposition is suffixed, but may be inverted for stylistic purposes:

(383) *usa mira sə̃ jeṭh əich*
Usha Mira from old be-PRES-(3NH)
'Usha is older than Mira.'

(384) *rətis sə̃ hun-k-ər kəniyã nik*
Ratish from he(H)-GENIT wife good
ch-əinh
be-PRES-(3H + 3H)
'His wife is more good-looking than Ratish.'

(385) *kaka bhəiya sə̃ khisiyah ch-əith*
uncle brother from angry be-PRES-(3H)
'The uncle is more hot-tempered than the brother.'

To express the degree of comparison in specific terms, such gradable items as *besi* 'more', *ədhik* '(a lot) more', and *kəm* 'less' are used before the adjective in such constructions. The following examples illustrate it:

(386) *usa mira sə̃ besi tejgər əich*
Usha Mira from more bright be-PRES-(3NH)
"Usha is more intelligent than Mira.'

(387) *rətis əpna kəniyã sə̃ kəm nik ch-əith*
Ratish REFL wife from less good be-PRES-(3H)
'Ratish is less good-looking than his wife.'

(388) *kaka bhəiya sə̃ ədhik khisiyah ch-əith*
uncle brother from more angry be-PRES-(3H)
'The uncle is more hot-tempered than the brother.'

Note, however, that to indicate less, the use of *kəm* is obligatory, while to indicate more, *besi* or *ədhik* may be optionally dropped.

In superlative constructions, the standard against which the comparison is made is *səb/səbh* 'all', to which the postposition *sə/sə̃* is suffixed, e. g.,

(389) *rəmes səb sə̃ kabil ch-əith*
Ramesh all from wise/competent be-PRES-(3H)
'Ramesh is the most competent of all.'

(390) *jəgət səb sə̃ buṛilel əich*
Jagat all from foolish be-PRES-(3NH)
'Jagat is the most foolish of all.'

(391) *o səb sə̃ nəmhər ch-əith*
he(H) all from tall be-PRES-(3H)
'He is the tallest of all.'

In superlative constructions also, the gradable items like *besi* 'more', *ədhik* '(a lot) more' (optionally), and *kəm* 'less' (obligatorily) may be used:

(392) *tõ səb sə̃ kəm nəmbər ən-l-ẽ*
You(NH) all from less number bring-PST-(2NH)
'You secured the lowest marks.'

(393) *o əpna kẽ səb sə̃ (besi) kabil*
he(H) REFL ACC/DAT all from more competent
bujh-əit ch-əith
think-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'He considers himself (to be) the most competent of all.'

In comparatives of equality, the object of comparison is suffixed by *sən* or *jəkã* or *jəte/ote* 'as/like', e. g.,

(394) *həm əhã sən budhiyar nəi ch-i*
I you(H) like clever not be-PRES-(1)
'I am not as clever as you are.'

(395) *o-ho əhã jəkã pəṛhəl ch-əith*
he(H)-EMPH you(H) like educated be-PRES-(3H)
'He too is as well-read as you are.'

(396) *usa-k babu əhã jəte/ote dhənik nəi*
Usha-GENIT father you(H) like rich not
ch-əith
be-PRES-(3H)
'Usha's father is not as wealthy as you are.'

5.2 Genitives as modifiers

The genitive constructions may perform the function of modifiers in Maithili. The genitive modifier consists of a noun or a personal pronoun followed by the genitive case marker, as exemplified below:

(397) *həm-ər ḍraibhər*
I-GENIT driver
'My driver'

(398) *əpne-k balək*
You(HH)-GENIT son
'Your son'

(399) *əhã-k gam*
You(H)-GENIT village
'Your village'

(400) *hin-k-ər bhənsiya*
he(H, Proximate)-GENIT cook
'His cook'

(401) *hun-k-ər dokan*
he(H, Remote)-GENIT shop
'His shop'

(402) *e-k-ər sahəs*
he(NH, Proximate)-GENIT courage
'His courage'

(403) *gach-ək ḍair*
tree-GENIT branch
'The branch of a tree'

(404) *syam-ək mitr*
Shyam-GENIT friend
'Shyam's friend'

(405) *o-k-ər dudh*
she(NH, Remote)-GENIT milk
'Her milk'

(406) *mohn-ək phoṭo*
Mohan-GENIT photograph
'Mohan's photograph'

Notice that sentences [405] and [406] are ambiguous. [406], for instance, may mean: (i) the photograph owned by Mohan, or (ii) the photograph of Mohan, i. e., of his own self, or (iii) the photograph taken by Mohan. Similarly, [405] may mean: (i) milk for her, or (ii) her own milk.

5.3 Determiners

Almost all the pronouns in Maithili (excepting mainly the personal pronouns in a narrow sense) can function as determiners (see also chapter 3).

5.3.1 Demonstrative pronouns as determiners

Both proximate and remote demonstrative pronouns of Maithili (i. e., *i, ehi, o, ohi*) may function as determiners, e. g.,

(407) *i kitab kin-k-ər ch-əinh?*
this book who(H)-GENIT be-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
'Whose book is it/this?'

(408) *ehi gai kẽ ab bec di-ə*
this cow ACC/DAT now sell give-IMP-(2H)
'Sell this cow now.'

(409) *u chɔ̃ṛa bəḍ ləbra əich*
that boy very wicked be-PRES-(3NH)
'The/that boy is very wicked.'

(410) *ohi khet-ək dam kətek?*
that field-GENIT price how much
'What is the price of that field?'

5.3.2 Interrogative pronoun as determiner

The interrogative pronoun *kon* 'which' occurs as a determiner, as is shown below:

(411) *kon gam jæ-b?*
which village go-FUT-(2H)
'To which village will you go?'

(412) *kon kaj kər-əit ch-i?*
which work do-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Which job do you do? / What is your profession?'

(413) *kon kitab məŋ-əit ch-i?*
which book ask for-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Which book are you asking for?'

(414) *jənəkpur me kon ṭola me rəh-əit*
Janakpur in which area in live-IMPERF
ch-i?
AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Which area of Janakpur do you live in?'

5.3.3 Relative and correlative pronouns as determiners

The relative and correlative pronouns (i.e., *je*, *se*, *jahi*, *tahi*) may also occur as determiners:

(415) *je balək æ-l ch-əl-ah se (balək)*
REL boy come-PERF AUX-PST-(3H) COREL (boy)
cəil ge-l-ah
walk go-PST-(3H)
'The boy who had come already went away.'

(416) *jahi nokər pər biswas nəi tahi (nokər) kẽ*
REL servant on faith not COREL (servant) ACC/DAT
ki rakh-əb
what keep-FUT-(2H)
'Do not hire the servant in whom you have no faith.'

5.3.4 Indefinite pronouns as determiners

The indefinite pronouns which may be used as determiners are: *kono* 'any' and *kiuch* 'a few/some'. Both of them can modify nouns of either animate or inanimate reference. A few examples are given below for illustration:

(417) *kono admiləd mi aib ja-ɔ*
any man come go-IMP-(3NH)
'Let any man come.'

(418) *kono gai də di-ə*
any cow give give-IMP-(2H)
'Give (me) any cow.'

(419) *kono din cəil jæ-b*
any day walk go-FUT-(1)
'I will leave any day.'

(420) *kono khet bec le-b*
any field sell take-FUT-(1)
'I will sell any (piece of) land.'

(421) *hun-ka kiuch log gher*
he(H)-ACC/DAT some people encircle
le-l-kəinh
take-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'A few people encircled him.'

(422) *kiuch kal ṭhəhəir ja-u*
some time wait go-IMP-(2H)
'(Please) wait for some time.'

(423) *kiuch dandəchina di-ə*
some alms give-IMP-(2H)
'(Please) give away some alms.'

5.3.5 Pronominal determiners of quality

A few demonstrative, interrogative, relative-correlative, and indefinite pronouns function as determiners of quality. These are illustrated below:

(i) Demonstrative pronouns *ehən* and *ohən*

The demonstrative pronouns *ehən* 'this kind of' and *ohən* 'that kind of' can modify nouns of either animate or inanimate reference:

(424) *ehən beṭa sə bin beṭ-e*[6] *nik*
this kind of son than without son-EMPH good
'It is better to be without son than to have this kind of son.'

(425) *ohən am nəi le-b*
that kind of mango not take-FUT-(1)
'I will not buy/take that kind of mango.'

(426) *ehn-e kaj kər-əb*
this kind of-EMPH work do-FUT-(2H)
'What a thing to do! / Do not do such a bad thing!'

(427) *ohn-e bəṛəd kin-əb*
that kind of-EMPH ox buy-FUT-(2H)
'What an ox to buy!'

(428) *gão me ek-ṭa ehn-o log*
village in one-CLAS this kind of-EMPH person
rəh-ɔ
live-IMP-(3NH)
'Let there be one such kind of person as well in the village.'

(429) *ek-ṭa ohn-o kin li-ə*[7]
one-CLAS that kind of-EMPH buy take-IMP-(2H)
'(Please) buy one of that type also.'

(ii) Interrogative pronoun *kehən*

The interrogative pronoun *kehən* 'of what kind' functions as a determiner of quality and can modify nouns of either animate or inanimate reference. Examples:

(430) *kehən bəṛ khoj-əit*
of what kind bridegroom search-IMPERF
ch-i?
AUX-PRES-(2H)
'What kind of bridegroom are you looking for?'

(431) *kehən gæ həræ-l əich?*
of what kind cow lose-PERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'What kind of cow is lost (by you)?'

(432) *kehən dhan bhe-l əich*
of what kind paddy become-PERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
ehi sal?
this year
'What kind of paddy crop do you have this year?'

(iii) Relative and correlative pronouns *jehən … tehən*

The relative and correlative pronouns which act as determiners of quality are *jehən … tehən* 'such a sort of/as … that sort of/so':

(433) *jehən kaj kae-l-əhũ tehən phəl bheṭ-əl*
as work do-PST-(2H) so fruit meet-PST-(3NH)
'As you sowed so you reaped.'

(434) *jehn-e bəṛ tehn-e kəniyã*
as-EMPH bridegroom so-EMPH bride
'As the bridegroom so is the bride.'

A few pronouns which function as indefinite determiners of quality usually consist of the pronoun and the emphatic enclitic *-o*; these are illustrated below:

(435) *kehn-o bheṭ-ət tə lə le-b*
of any kind find-FUT-(3NH) then take take-FUT-(2H)
'Buy any kind you can get.'

(436) *kiuch-o də di-ə*
whatever give give-IMP-(2H)
'Give whatever.'

(437) *jehn-o tehn-o lə a*
of whatever sort of whatever sort take come-IMP-(2NH)
'Fetch whatever sort (you can get).'

5.3.6 Pronominal determiners of quantity

There are a few demonstrative, interrogative, relative-correlative, and indefinite pronouns which function as determiners of quantity. These are discussed below.

The demonstrative pronouns which function as determiners of quantity alone are:

etek ~ etba 'this many/much'
otek ~ otba 'that many/much'
etb-e ~ etbæ[8] 'only this much/many'
otb-e ~ otbæ[9] 'only that much/many'
etn-e ~ etni[10] 'only this many/much'
otn-e ~ otni[11] 'only that many/much'
etn-o ~ etb-o 'even this many/much'
otn-o ~ otb-o 'even that many/much'

Examples:

(438) *etek dhən lə kə ki kər-əb?*
this much wealth take CP what do-FUT-(2H)
'What will you do with this much wealth?'

(439) *otek kitab pəiṛh kə ki hæ-t?*
that many book read CP what become-FUT-(3NH + 2H)
'What will become (of you) by reading that many books?'

(440) *etb-e dhan bhe-l ehi sal?*
this much-EMPH paddy become-PST-(3NH) this year
'(You had) only this much paddy this year?'

(441) *otb-e khərca bhe-l?*
that much-EMPH expenditure become-PST-(3NH)
'Was the expenditure only that much?'

(442) *etn-e log æ-l ch-əith*
this many-EMPH people come-PERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'Only this many people have come.'

(443) *o otn-e/otni bat baij kə rəih ge-l-ah*
he(H) that much-EMPH talk speak CP live go-PST-(3H)
'He stopped after having said only that much.'

(444) *etn-o bat nəi baj-ə sək-l-əhũ?*
this much-EMPH talk not speak-INF can-PST-(2H)
'Couldn't you say even this much?'

(445) *hun-ka otb-o miṭhai nəi kha*
he(H)-ACC/DAT that much-EMPH sweets not eat
bhe-l-əinh
become-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He couldn't eat even that many sweets.'

The interrogative pronouns which function as determiners of quantity are:

kətek ~ *kətba* 'how much/how many'
kæ ~ *kəe* 'how many'
kətne ~ *kətni* 'how few/how little'

kətek/kətba 'how much/how many' may modify both countable and uncountable nouns, e.g.,

(446) *kəte(k) jən cah-i?*
how many laborer want-IMP-(3NH + 2H)
'How many laborers do you want?'

(447) *kəte(k) dhan d-iəuk?*
how much paddy give-IMP-(1 + 2NH)
'How much paddy should I give (you)?'

kæ occurs only as a modifier of countable nouns:

(448) *kæ bora dhan bhe-l?*
how many sack paddy become-PST-(3NH + 2H)
'How many sacks of paddy did you have?'

(449) *kæ admi æ-l ch-əith?*
how many man come-PERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'How many men have come?'

kətne 'how little/how few' is used to modify both countable and uncountable nouns:

(450) *kətne log æ-l ch-əith?*
how few people come-PERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'How few people have come?'

(451) *kətne caur ch-əuk?*
how little rice be-PRES-(3NH + 2NH)
'How little rice do you have?'

But *kətni* 'how little' can modify only the noncountable nouns:

(452) *kətni tərkari de-l-ək?*
how little vegetable give-PST-(3NH)
'How little vegatable did he give?'

(453) **kətni log æ-l ch-əith?*
how little people come-PERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'How few people have come?'

A few relative and correlative pronouns act as determiners of quantity alone; they are:

jətek ~ *jətba* … *tətek* ~ *tətba* 'as many/much … that many/much'

jətb-e ~ *jətbæ* … *tətb-e* ~ *tətbæ* 'as many/much … that many/much'
jæ … *sæ* 'as … that'

These are illustrated below:

(454) *jətek rupəiya d-ə sək-əb tətek*
as many rupees give-INF can-FUT-(1) that many
de-b
give-FUT-(1)
'I will give (you) as many rupees as I can.'

(455) *pəurka sal jətba dhan bhe-l*
last year as much paddy become-PST-(3NH)
tətba ə-hu sal
that much this-EMPH year
'This year also (I have) as much paddy as last year.'

(456) *jətb-e d-ə sək-əb*
as much-EMPH give-INF can-FUT-(2H)
tətb-e di-ə
that much-EMPH give-IMP-(2H)
'Give (me) only as much as you can.'

(457) *jæ-ṭa admi əhã pəṭhae-l-əhũ*
as many-CLAS man you(H) send-PST-(2H)
tæ-ṭa həm-hũ
that many-CLAS I-EMPH
'I sent as many men as you (did).'

The pronouns which function as indefinite determiners (usually made from interrogative or relative-correlative pronouns plus the emphatic inclusive enclitic *-o*) of quantity are:

kətek-o ~ *kətb-o*/*kətn-o* 'of any number/amount'
jətek-o … *tətek-o* 'of any amount/number'
jətb-o … *tətb-o* 'of any amount/number'

Examples:

(458) *kətek-o log hun-ka jhəgṛa*
any number of people he(H)-ACC/DAT quarrel
kər-əit dekh-əl-kəinh
do-IMPERF see-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'A lot of people saw him quarreling.'

(459) *kətb-o caur də-hə ok-ər*
any amount of rice give-(2MH + 3NH) he(NH)-GENIT
peṭ nəi bhər-t-əik
stomach not fill-FUT-(3NH + 3NH)
'No matter how much rice you give him he won't be satisfied.'

(460) *jətek-o rupəiya kəh-u tətek-o də*
any amount of rupees say-IMP-(2H) that much give
de-b
give-FUT-(1)
'I will give (you) any amount of money you ask for.'

(461) *jətb-o dhan də de-b tətb-o*
any amount of paddy give give-FUT-(2H) that amount
lə le-b
take take-FUT-(1)
'I will take whatever little amount of paddy you give.'

5.4 Numerals

Numerals are also adjectives which indicate number. The numerals in Maithili are: (i) cardinals, (ii) ordinals, (iii) fractions, (iv) multiplicatives, and (v) aggregatives. All these are used as quantifiers, i. e., they give the number of objects.

5.4.1 Cardinals

The cardinal numerals answer the question: *kətek*/*kæ goṭ(e)* 'how many?', and are not inflected. Cardinals may be divided into the following: (a) base numerals, (b) intermediate numerals, (c) decade numerals, and (d) compound numerals.

(a) Base numerals

ek	1	*chɔ*	6
du	2	*sat*	7
tin	3	*aṭh*	8
cair ⟨ cāri ⟩	4	*nɔ*	9
pãc	5		

(b) Intermediate numerals

egarəh	11	*pəndrəh/pənrəh* ⟨ pandraha ⟩	15
barəh	12		
terəh	13	*sorəh/soləh*	16
cəudəh	14	*sətrəh*	17
		əṭharəh	18

Note that excpet in highly formal styles, the final [h] is invariably dropped in the actual pronunciation of the above numerals.

(c) Decade numerals

dəs/dɔs	10	*saiṭh* ⟨ sāṭhi ⟩	60
bis	20	*səttər* ⟨ sattari ⟩	70
tis	30		
calis	40	*əsi* (*əssi*)	80
pəcas	50	*nəbbe*	90

(d) Compound numerals

unəis	19	*unsəiṭh* ⟨ unasaṭhi ⟩	59
ekəis	21	*eksəiṭh*	61
bais	22	*basəiṭh*	62
təis	23	*tirsəiṭh*	63
cəubis	24	*cɔ̃səiṭh*	64
pəcis	25	*pəẽsəiṭh*	65
chəbbis	26	*chiasəiṭh/chyasəiṭh/ cheasəiṭh*	66
sətais	27	*səṛ̃səiṭh/sərsəiṭh*	67
əṭhais	28	*əṛ̃səiṭh/ərsəiṭh*	68
untis	29	*unhəttəir* ⟨ unhattari ⟩	69
ektis	31	*ekhəttəir*	71
bəttis	32	*bəhəttəir*	72
təẽtis	33	*tihəttəir*	73
cɔ̃tis	34	*cəuhəttəir*	74
pəẽtis	35	*pəchəttəir*	75
chəttis	36	*chihəttəir*	76
səẽtis	37	*səthəttəir* ⟨ satahattari ⟩	77
əṛ̃tis/ərtis	38	*əṭhhəttəir*	78
uncalis	39	*unasi*	79
ekcalis	41	*ekasi*	81
bialis/byalis/bealis	42	*birasi*	82
təẽtalis	43	*tirasi*	83

cəualis	44	*cəurasi*	84
pəẽtalis	45	*pəcasi*	85
chialis/chyalis/chealis	46	*chiasi/chyasi/cheasi*	86
səẽtalis	47	*sətasi*	87
əṛ̃calis/ərcalis	48	*əṭhasi*	88
uncas	49	*nəbasi*	89
ekabən	51	*ekanbe*	91
babən	52	*biranbe* (*byanbe*)	92
tirpən	53	*tiranbe*	93
cəubən	54	*cəuranbe*	94
pəcpən	55	*pəncanbe*	95
chəppən	56	*chianbe/chyanbe/cheanbe*	96
səntabən	57	*səntanbe*	97
ənṭhabən	58	*ənṭhanbe*	98
		ninanbe	99

Note that *un-* is prefixed to all the numerals which designate decades less one, except '89' and '99' which conform to the pattern of other numerals between decades, e. g.,

unəis	19	*unsəiṭh*	59
untis	29	*unhəttəir*	69
uncalis	39	*unasi*	79
uncas	49		

but,

nəbasi	89	*ninanbe*	99

5.4.1.1 Hundreds

The numeral '100' is *sæ/səe* (also *sɔ* – probably because of Hindi influence). *sæ* is preceded by *ek* 'one' when counting; otherwise it may be used alone when a noun follows, e. g.,

(462) *ek sæ*
'one hundred'

but,

(463) *sæ rupəiya de-l-ək*
hundred rupees give-PST-(3NH + 1)
'He gave me (one) hundred rupees.'

Hundreds are formed by placing *sæ* after a cardinal number, e. g.,

ek	*sæ*	100
du	*sæ*	200
tin	*sæ*	300
nɔ	*sæ*	900
terəh	*sæ*	1,300, and so on.

5.4.1.2 Thousands

The numeral '1,000' is *həjar*. Thousands are also formed by placing *həjar* after a cardinal number, e. g.,

ek	*həjar*	1,000
du	*həjar*	2,000
pãc	*həjar*	5,000
nɔ	*həjar*	9,000
pəcis	*həjar*	25,000
unasi	*həjar*	79,000, and so on.

5.4.1.3 Numerals above a "hundred" and a "thousand"

Numerals above a hundred and a thousand are made synthetically by subjoining the lower numeral to the higher without any intervening conjunctions, as shown below:

ek	*sæ*		100	*ek*	*həjar*		1,000
ek	*sæ*	*ek*	101	*ek*	*həjar*	*ek*	1,001
pãc	*sæ*	*sat*	507	*pãc*	*həjar*	*sat*	5,007
sat	*sæ*	*untis*	729	*sat*	*həjar*	*untis*	7,029
nɔ	*sæ*	*aṭh*	908	*aṭh*	*həjar*	*du sæ nəbasi*	8,289
				nɔ	*həjar*	*sat sæ ek*	9,701,

and so on.

The numeral 100,000 is *lakh*, and the numeral '10,000,000' is *kəror*. Multiples of these numbers are also made like those of a hundred and a thousand, as shown above, e. g.,

ek lakh du həjar pãc sæ untis	102,529
ek lakh pəcas həjar bəttis	150,032
nɔ kəror du lakh səntabən həjar sat sæ nəbasi	90,257,789,

and so on.

The cardinal numerals function as invariable adjectives in Maithili, e. g.,

(464) *həm jərməni du sal pəhine əe-l-əhũ*
I Germany two year before come-PST-(1)
'I came to Germany two years ago.'

(465) *pãc bəje a-u*
five o'clock come-IMP-(2H)
'Come at five o'clock.'

(466) *dəs-ṭa am kha le-l-ək*
ten-CLAS mango eat take-PST-(3NH)
'He ate up ten mangoes.'

5.4.2 Ordinals

The ordinal numerals answer the question: *kon* 'which one?' (or, strictly speaking, 'the how many-eth?'). Ordinals are adjectives which are formed by suffixation of *-m* to a cardinal form – except in the case of ordinals of *ek* 'one', *du* 'two', and *tin* 'three'. The ordinals of these cardinals are:

pəhil	1st
dosər	2nd
tesər	3rd

Examples of other ordinals are:

carim	4th
pãcem	5th
chɔəm/chəṭhem	6th
dəsəm/dɔsəm	10th
unsəiṭhəm	59th
sæ əm/sɔəm	100th
ek sæ untisəm	129th, and so on.

The ordinals may also be formed by the suffixation of an additional low central vowel [a] (and after the suffix *-m* in those ordinals which have it), e. g.,

pəhil	~	*pəhila*	1st
dosər	~	*dosra*	2nd

tesər	~	*tesra*	3rd
carim	~	*cəirma* 〈 carimā 〉	4th
dəsəm	~	*dəsma*	10th
unsəiṭhəm	~	*unsəiṭhma*	59th
sæəm	~	*sæma*	100th
ek sæ untisəm	~	*ek sæ untisma*	129th, and so on.

The *a*-ending ordinals usually correspond to the rural and colloquial styles of speech, while the consonant-ending ordinals are typically used in educated styles.

Definite adjectives (which change for gender) may be made by the suffixation of *-ka* (masculine) and *-ki* (feminine) to the ordinals *pəhil*, *dosər*, and *tesər* (i. e., '1st', '2nd', and '3rd'), and by the suffixation of *-a* (masculine) and *-i* (feminine) to the rest of the ordinals, e. g.,

Masculine		Feminine
pəhil-ka	'the first one'	*pəhil-ki*
dosər-ka	'the second one'	*dosər-ki*
tesər-ka	'the third one'	*tesər-ki*
cəirm-a 〈 carimā 〉	'the fourth one'	*cəirm-i* 〈 carimī 〉
dəsm-a	'the tenth one'	*dəsm-i*
pəcasm-a	the fiftieth one'	*pəcasm-i*
sæm-a	'the hundredth one'	*sæm-i*
ek sæ untism-a	'the one hundred and twenty-ninth one'	*ek sæ untism-i*,

and so on.

Note that the definite adjectives are translated as NPs; however, they can modify a noun, as is shown below:

(467) *pəhil-ka chɔ̃ṛa bəḍ cəlak ch-əik*
first-DEF(M) boy very clever be-PRES-(3NH)
'The first boy is very clever.'

(468) *tesər-ki məugi ke bəja-0*
third-DEF(F) woman ACC/DAT call-IMP-(2NH)
'Call the third woman.'

5.4.3 Fractions

The fractions are:

pa/pao	¼
adha/ədha	½
pɔn	¾ ("minus ¼")
səba	1 ¼ ("plus ¼")
ḍeṛh/ḍerh	1 ½
əṛhai/ərhai	2 ½
saṛhe/sarhe	plus ½ (used for numerals '3' and above).

Not all of the fractions listed above behave as adjectives. For instance, a few of them may combine with the genitival forms of the NPs, in which case they are more like nouns than adjectives, as exemplified below:

(469) *ek-ər adha di-ə*
this-GENIT half give-IMP-(2H)
'Give (me) half of it.'

(470) *pəcas-ək səba kətek hoe-t-əik?*
fifty-GENIT 1 ¼ how much be-FUT-(3NH)
'What will be the 1 ¼ of fifty?'

Most of the fractions, however, can occur as adjectives:

(471) *adha ser cini di-ə*
half seer sugar give-IMP-(2H)
'Give (me) half a seer of sugar.'

(472) *əṛhai kilo bhənṭa təul-əh*
2 ½ kilo brinjal weigh-IMP-(2MH)
'Weigh (for me) 2 ½ kilos of brinjals.'

(473) *saṛhe pãc kilo ghi ch-əl*
plus ½ five kilo ghee be-PST-(3NH)
'The ghee weighed 5 ½ kilo.'

(474) *ek pao hərdi lab-əh*
one ¼ turmeric bring-IMP-(2MH)
'Give (me) ¼ of turmeric powder (lit.: Bring me ¼ of turmeric powder).'

and so on.

5.4.4 Multiplicatives

Multiplicatives are formed by suffixing *-guna* 'times' to the cardinal numerals, e. g.,

duguna/dunna	'twice'
tinguna	'thrice'
cairguna/cəuguna	'four times'
pãcguna/pə̃cguna	'five times'
chɔguna	'six times'
sətguna	'seven times'
aṭhguna/əṭhguna	'eight times'
nɔguna	'nine times'
sɔguna	'hundred times', and so on.

It is worth noting that the multiplicative suffix may also be added to a few of the fractional numerals, e. g.,

səbaguna	'1 ¼ times'
adhaguna	'½ times'
pɔnguna	'¾ times'
ḍeṛhguna	'1 ½ times'
əṛhaiguna	'2 ½ times'

but not

**paoguna*	'¼ times'
**saṛheguna*	'plus ½ times'

5.4.5 Aggregatives

Most aggregative forms of cardinal numerals in Maithili end in *-o*, except those of the cardinals 2, 3, and 4 (which end in *-u*):

dunu	'both'
tinu	'all three'
caru	'all four'
pãco	'all five'
chəbo	'all six'
sato	'all seven'
aṭho	'all eight'
nəbo	'all nine'
dəso	'all ten'
pəcaso	'all fifty', and so on.

A few examples are given below for illustration:

(475) *dunu admi ja-u*
both man go-IMP-(2H)
'Go, both of you.'

(476) *pãco məhĩs hera ge-l*
all five buffalo lose go-PST-(3NH)
'All the five buffaloes were lost.'

(477) *sato sadhu ke khi-a-u*
all the seven hermit ACC/DAT eat-CAUS I-IMP-(2H)
'Feed all the seven hermits.'

Chapter six
The verb and the verb phrase

6.1 Introduction

It has been commonly observed that the one characteristic which distinguishes Maithili as a language from the rest of the Indo-Aryan languages of India and Nepal is its elaborate verb system. Long ago, Grierson admitted that the Maithili verb "much tried our patience" (1881 a: 1 'Introduction'), and again later remarked that "The conjugation of the verb forms the most complicated part of Maithili Grammar" (1909: 108). Since the verb system of Maithili is unlike anything which has been described in other major languages of India and Nepal, it is worth describing in full. This chapter will discuss the Maithili verb phrase in detail.

The organization of the present chapter is as follows: 6.1 provides a few introductory remarks on such universal grammatical properties as finiteness and transitivity and goes on to make reference to categories like number and gender which for Maithili verbs are not specified (however, see below); 6.2 discusses the structure of the verb phrase; 'primary' and 'secondary' verbal agreements are dealt with in 6.3; 6.4–6.7 discuss causative, compound and conjunct, passive, and modal verbs; 6.8 discusses auxiliaries as main verbs; and 6.9 deals with the non-finite forms of the Maithili verb.

6.1.1 Finiteness

Finite verb forms in Maithili are conjugated for aspect, tense, mood, person, and honorificity. The non-finite verb forms in Maithili are tenseless, and do not conjugate for person or honorificity. The non-finite parts of the verb play an important part in making a sentence as compact as possible (see 6.9).

6.1.2 Transitivity

It is possible to classify Maithili verbs as transitive or intransitive on the basis of whether they occur with objects. The transitive–intransitive distinction is also motivated by other grammatical distinctions:

(i) intransitive verbs in non-present tense forms show agreement for the gender of the third person honorific noun phrase, while transitive verbs do not (see 6.1.4);

(ii) the perfective aspect marker in transitive verbs is *-ne*, while it is *-əl* in intransitive verbs (see 6.2.2);

(iii) the primary agreement affix for the third person honorific noun phrase in the past tense is *-əinh* for transitive verbs, while it is *-ah* for intransitive verbs (see 6.2.4).

6.1.3 Number

There are no distinctions of number (i.e., singular and plural) in the modern Maithili verb system. Bloch's (1965: 218) observation in this regard is worth quoting: "In Maithili ... the verb no longer in any way expresses number. The idea of the honorific has completely replaced number ...". Grierson (1895 a: 348, footnote 1) had also observed: "The Maithili verb does not distinguish between singular and plural – only between honorific and non-honorific ...".
Examples:

(478) a. *həm jae-b*
I go-FUT-(1)
'I will go.'
b. *həm səb jae-b*
I all go-FUT-(1)
'We will go.'

(479) a. *tõ əe-l-e*
you(NH) come-PST-(2NH)
'You came.'
b. *tõ səb əe-l-e*
you(NH) all come-PST-(2NH)
'You (PL) came/All of you came.'

6.1.4 Gender

Modern Maithili makes no distinction of gender in the verb system. In highly formal and literary contexts, however, a gender distinction between masculine and feminine is shown by intransitive verbs in non-pre-

sent tense forms of the third person honorific and by transitive verbs in future tense forms of the third person honorific. The following examples are illustrative:

(480) *raja əe-l-ah*
king come-PST-(3H, M)
'The king came.'

(481) *rani əe-l-ih*
queen come-PST-(3H, F)
'The queen came.'

(482) *raja əu-t-ah*
king come-FUT-(3H, M)
'The king will come.'

(483) *rani əu-t-ih*
queen come-FUT-(3H, F)
'The queen will come.'

(484) *raja khəe-t-ah*
king eat-FUT-(3H, M)
'The king will eat.'

(485) *rani khəe-t-ih*
queen eat-FUT-(3H, F)
'The queen will eat.'

but,

(486) *raja khəe-l-əinh|əith*
king eat-PST-(3H)
'The king ate.'

(487) *rani khəe-l-əinh|əith*
queen eat-PST-(3H)
'The queen ate.'

(488) *raja əb-əit ch-əith*
king come-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'The king comes.'

(489) *rani əb-əit ch-əith*
queen come-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'The queen comes.'

6.2 Structure of the verb phrase

The structure of the Maithili verb and verb phrase may be characterized as follows:

Finite verb = stem + tense + mood + person/honorificity agreement
Verb phrase = [verb phrase … verb stem + aspect][finite auxiliary verb]

The above characterization shows that there is a constituent break between a main verb and its auxiliary. It also shows that the finite verb is the one that is marked for tense, etc. – the finite verb being the main verb in a non-auxiliary construction and the auxiliary verb in an auxiliary construction.[1]

A detailed discussion of each of the constituents of the verb and the verb phrase is given below; an attempt is also made to isolate morphemes and to show as far as possible their relationship with the syntax and semantics of the Maithili verb system. It should be borne in mind, though, that in a highly fusional language like Maithili it is not always possible to distinctly analyze and isolate each and every morpheme. Upon closer scrutiny, one discovers that a single morpheme may represent more than one grammatical function and may in fact function as marker of person, tense, mood, and honorificity all at once. The difficulty in isolating morphemes is further exacerbated when the question of 'verb–object agreement' or 'secondary verb agreement' is brought to the fore (see 6.3).

6.2.1 Stem

The infinitive of the Maithili verb ends in *-eb* when the verb stem ends in *a* or *o*, and in *-əb* everywhere else. The stem of the Maithili verb is then what remains when this *-əb* or *-eb* is removed from the infinitive, as shown below:

Infinitive	Gloss	Stem
dekhəb	'to see'	*dekh-*
pəṛhəb	'to read'	*pəṛh-*
kərəb	'to do'	*kər-*
bisərəb	'to forget'	*bisər-*
piəb	'to drink'	*pi-*
gaeb	'to sing'	*ga-*

hoeb	'to be/become'	*ho-*
le(ə)b	'to take'	*le-*

Maithili primary verb stems exhibit the patterns V, CV or VC, CVC, VCVC, and CVCVC; derived (causative) verb stems show VCV, CVV, CVCV, VCCV, CVCCV, VCVCCV, and CVCVCCV patterns. Their syllabic structures are illustrated in the following table:

V	:	*a*	'come'
VC	:	*uṭh*	'arise'
CV	:	*le*	'take'
CVC	:	*luṭ*	'rob'
VCVC	:	*unəṭ*	'roll over'
CVCVC	:	*pəhũc*	'arrive'
VCV	:	*uṭha*	'cause to arise'
CVV	:	*lia*	'cause to take'
CVCV	:	*luṭa*	'cause to rob'
VCCV	:	*uṭhba*	'cause to arise (through s. o.)'
CVCCV	:	*ləṭka*	'cause to hang'
VCVCCV	:	*unəṭba*	'cause to roll over (through s. o.)'
CVCVCCV	:	*pəhũcba*	'cause to deliver (through s. o.)'

Most Maithili verb stems show remarkably few phonological alternations when aspect, tense, mood, or other inflectional affixes are added. However, stem alternations do occur in a few verbs. Such stem alternations are governed in the main by: (i) whether the stem ends in a vowel or consonant, and (ii) whether the consonant-final stem contains *ə* or *a* within it.[2] These stem alternations will be discussed in appropriate places.

6.2.2 Aspect

A total of three aspects can be distinguished in modern Maithili. These are: (i) imperfective, (ii) perfective, and (iii) progressive. The aspect markers of the Maithili verb are listed below:

Perfective	*-ne*	transitive
	-əl[3]	intransitive
Imperfective	*-əit*	
Progressive	*rəhəl*	

Unless a modal[4] or a compound verb (see 6.5) intervenes, the aspect markers are attached directly to the verb stems themselves. Examples:

(490) *ram khəe-ne əich* — Perfective aspect
Ram eat-PERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'Ram has eaten.'

(491) *ram khəe-ne ch-əl*
Ram eat-PERF AUX-PST-(3NH)
'Ram had eaten.'

(492) *ram ae-l/æ-l əich*
Ram come-PERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'Ram has come.'

(493) *ram ae-l/æ-l ch-əl*
Ram come-PERF AUX-PST-(3NH)
'Ram had come.'

(494) *ram ae-l rəh-t-ah*
Ram come-PERF AUX-FUT-(3H)
'Ram will have come.'

(495) *ram khəe-ne rəh-ət*
Ram eat-PERF AUX-FUT-(3NH)
'Ram will have eaten.'

(496) *ram kha-it ch-əith* — Imperfective aspect
Ram eat-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'Ram eats/is eating.'[5]

(497) *Ram ja-it ch-əith*
Ram go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'Ram goes/is going.'

(498) *ram ja-it ch-əl-ah*
Ram go-IMPERF AUX-PST-(3H)
'Ram was going/Ram used to go.'

(499) *ram kha-it ch-əl-ah*
Ram eat-IMPERF AUX-PST-(3H)
'Ram was eating/Ram used to eat.'

(500) *ram ja-it rəh-t-ah*
Ram go-IMPERF AUX-FUT-(3H)
'Ram will be going.'

(501) *ram kha-it rəh-t-ah*
Ram eat-IMPERF AUX-FUT-(3H)
'Ram will be eating.'

(502) *ram kha rəhəl ch-əith* Progressive aspect
Ram eat PROG AUX-PRES-(3H)
'Ram is eating.'

(503) *ram ja rəhəl ch-əl-ah*
Ram go PROG AUX-PST-(3H)
'Ram was going.'

The aspectual markers trigger a number of morphophonemic modifications. This is as good a place as any to discuss them.

-ne

(i) The stem-final *r* is deleted in such verbs as *kər* 'do' and *dhər* 'keep' (but not in *bhər* 'fill') upon the addition of *-ne*;
(ii) *-e-* is inserted between a schwa-final verb stem (resulting either from deletion of *r* or from the *a* → *ə* rule) and *-ne*:

kər-ne	→	*kəene/*kəne*
dhər-ne	→	*dhəene/*dhəne*
kha-ne	→	*khəene/*khəne*
la-ne	→	*ləene/*ləne*

-əit

(i) When added to a verb stem ending in a vowel other than *i*, the *ə* of *-əit* is deleted:

kha-əit eat-IMPERF	→	*khait*
ho-əit be-IMPERF	→	*hoit*

but,

pi-əit drink-IMPERF	→	*piəit*
si-əit sew-IMPERF	→	*siəit*

(ii) When *-əit* is affixed to a verb stem ending in *e*, the stem-final *e* is deleted:

de-əit give-IMPERF	→	*dəit*
le-əit take-IMPERF	→	*ləit*

(iii) *-b-* is suffixed obligatorily to verb stems ending in *-a* such as *a* 'come', *la* 'bring', *pa* 'find' (but not to *ja* 'go' and *kha* 'eat'), and optionally to vowel-final verb stems such as *pi* 'drink' and *si* 'sew', prior to the suffixation of *-əit* (see chapter 2 for more information on morphophonemic alternations):

a-əit ch-i	→	*əbəit chi*	'I am coming/I come'
la-əit ch-e	→	*ləbəit che*	'You(NH) bring'
pa-əit ch-əith	→	*pəbəit chəith*	'He(H) finds'
pi-əit ch-i	→	*pi(b)əit chi*	'I drink'
si-əit ch-e	→	*si(b)əit che*	'You(NH) sew'

but,

ja-əit ch-i	→	*jait chi*	'I go'
kha-əit ch-e	→	*khait che*	'You(NH) eat'

-b- is suffixed obligatorily to causative I and II stems (ending in *-a* and *-ba* respectively) prior to the suffixation of the imperfective marker *-əit*:

uṭh-a-əit lift-CAUS I-IMPERF	*ch-i* AUX-PRES-(1)	→	*uṭhəbəit* ~ *uṭhbəit chi* 'I cause to get lifted'
paṛh-a-əit read-CAUS I-IMPERF	*ch-e* AUX-PRES-(2NH)	→	*paṛhəbəit* ~ *paṛhbəit che* 'You teach'
uṭh-ba-əit lift-CAUS II-IMPERF	*ch-i* AUX-PRES-(1)	→	*uṭhbəbəit chi* 'I cause to lift (through s. o.)'
paṛh-ba-əit read-CAUS II-IMPERF	*ch-i* AUX-PRES-(1)	→	*paṛhbəbəit chi* 'I cause to teach (through s. o.)'

rəhəl

The stem-final *r* is deleted in such verbs as *kər* 'do' and *dhər* 'keep' (but not in *bhər* 'fill'), also upon the addition of the progressive aspectual word *rəhəl*:

kər	*rəhəl*	*ch-i*	→	*kə rəhəl chi*	'I am doing'
dhər	*rəhəl*	*ch-i*	→	*dhə rəhəl chi*	'I am keeping'

but,

bhər	*rəhəl*	*ch-i*	→	*bhəir rəhəl chi*	'I am filling in'

(For more information on insertion of *i* in *bhəir*, etc., see the section on compound verbs.)

6.2.3 Auxiliary

There are a multiplicity of forms in Maithili whose functions correspond closely to what is designated as the auxiliary 'be' in English. Broadly speaking, these auxiliary forms perform one of two main functions: they act either as 'helping' verbs or as 'main' verbs.

6.2.3.1 Auxiliary as helping verb

The auxiliary (or helping 'be') is an optional element in the Maithili verb system. The auxiliary requires an aspect marker to appear on the verb stem. In other words, it would be preferable to say that the auxiliary governs the form of the main verb. Since the auxiliary occurs after the aspect marker, the tense, mood, honorific, and agreement markers are all attached to the auxiliary itself. The auxiliary forms of Maithili are listed below:

Present tense	*əich*	–	3NH
	ch-	–	elsewhere
Past tense	*ch-*		
Future tense	*rəh-*		
	(ho)-		

It should be noted that the auxiliary forms listed above are by their very nature tense carriers, and their grammatical function is to provide finiteness to the verbal constellation. Consequently, their forms are in themselves always incomplete until the tense and agreement affixes are added to them.

The potential for structural combinations of aspect and auxiliary markers in Maithili is immense. Auxiliaries can occur after almost all aspect markers – the only exception is the auxiliary *rəh-* which cannot

cooccur with the progressive aspect *rəhəl* (however, see note 29). The combinations of aspect and auxiliary and tense are listed below:

Stem	*Aspect*	*Aux*	*TNS/AGR*	*Resulting form*	*Gloss*
kha	əit	ch	0 + i	*khait chi*	'I/You(H) eat'
kha	əit	ch	əl + əhũ	*khait chələhũ*	'I/You(H) used to eat'
kha	əit	ch	0 + əith	*khait chəith*	'He(H) eats'
kha	əit	ch	əl + ah	*khait chəlah*	'He(H) used to eat'
kha	əit	ch	əl + 0	*khait chəl*	'He(NH) used to eat'
kha	əit	ch	0 + əh	*khait chəh*	'You(MH) eat'
kha	əit	ch	əl + əh	*khait chələh*	'You(MH) used to eat'
kha	əit	ch	0 + ẽ	*khait chẽ*	'You(NH) eat'
kha	əit	ch	əl + ẽ	*khait chəlẽ*	'You(NH) used to eat'
kha	əit	əich	0 + 0	*khait əich*	'He(NH) eats'
kha	əit	rəh	əb + 0	*khait rəhəb*	'I/You(H) will be eating'
kha	əit	rəh	ət + ah	*khait rəhtah*	'He(H) will be eating'
kha	əit	rəh	ət + 0	*khait rəhət*	'He(NH) will be eating'
kha	əit	rəh	əb + əh	*khait rəhbəh*	'You(MH) will be eating'
kha	əit	rəh	əb + ẽ	*khait rəhbẽ*	'You(NH) will be eating'
kha	əit	ho	əb + 0	*khait hoeb*	'I/You(H) may be eating'
kha	əit	ho	ət + ah	*khait hoetah*	'He(H) may be eating'
kha	əit	ho	ət + 0	*khait hoet*	'He(NH) may be eating'
kha	əit	ho	əb + əh	*khait hoebəh*	'You(MH) may be eating'
kha	əit	ho	əb + ẽ	*khait hoebẽ*	'You(NH) may be eating'
kha	ne	ch	0 + i	*khəene chi*	'I/You(H) have eaten'
kha	ne	ch	əl + əhũ	*khəene chələhũ*	'I/You(H) had eaten'
kha	ne	ch	0 + əith	*khəene chəith*	'He(H) has eaten'
kha	ne	ch	əl + ah	*khəene chəlah*	'He(H) had eaten'
kha	ne	ch	əl + 0	*khəene chəl*	'He(NH) had eaten'

kha	ne	ch	əl + əh	*khəene chələh*	'You(MH) had eaten'
kha	ne	ch	0 + əh	*khəene chəh*	'You(MH) have eaten'
kha	ne	ch	əl + ẽ	*khəene chəlẽ*	'You(NH) had eaten'
kha	ne	ch	0 + ẽ	*khəene chẽ*	'You(NH) have eaten'
kha	ne	əich	0 + 0	*khəene əich*	'He(NH) has eaten'
kha	ne	rəh	əb + 0	*khəene rəhəb*	'I/You(H) will have eaten'
kha	ne	rəh	ət + ah	*khəene rəhtah*	'He(H) will have eaten'
kha	ne	rəh	ət + 0	*khəene rəhət*	'He(NH) will have eaten'
kha	ne	rəh	əb + əh	*khəene rəhbəh*	'You(MH) will have eaten'
kha	ne	rəh	əb + ẽ	*khəene rəhbẽ*	'You(NH) will have eaten'
kha	ne	ho	əb + 0	*khəene hoeb*	'I/You(H) may have eaten'
kha	ne	ho	ət + ah	*khəene hoetah*	'He(H) may have eaten'
kha	ne	ho	ət + 0	*khəene hoet*	'He(NH) may have eaten'
kha	ne	ho	əb + əh	*khəene hoebəh*	'You(MH) may have eaten'
kha	ne	ho	əb + ẽ	*khəene hoebẽ*	'You(NH) may have eaten'
kha	rəhəl	ch	0 + i	*kha rəhəl chi*	'I/You(H) have been eating'
kha	rəhəl	ch	əl + əhũ	*kha rəhəl chələhũ*	'I/You(H) had been eating'
kha	rəhəl	ch	0 + əith	*kha rəhəl chəith*	'He(H) has been eating'
kha	rəhəl	ch	əl + ah	*khe rəhəl chəlah*	'He(H) had been eating'
kha	rəhəl	ch	əl + 0	*kha rəhəl chəl*	'He(NH) had been eating'
kha	rəhəl	ch	0 + əh	*kha rəhəl chəh*	'You(MH) have been eating'
kha	rəhəl	ch	0 + ẽ	*kha rəhəl chẽ*	'You(NH) have been eating'

kha	rəhəl	ch	əl + əh	*kha rəhəl chələh*	'You(MH) had been eating'
kha	rəhəl	ch	əl + ẽ	*kha rəhəl chəlẽ*	'You(NH) had been eating'
kha	rəhəl	əich	0 + 0	*kha rəhəl əich*	'He(NH) has been eating'
kha	rəhəl	ho	əb + 0	*kha rəhəl hoeb*	'I/You(H) may have been eating'
kha	rəhəl	ho	ət + ah	*kha rəhəl hoetah*	'He(H) may have been eating'
kha	rəhəl	ho	ət + 0	*kha rəhəl hoet*	'He(NH) may have been eating'
kha	rəhəl	ho	əb + əh	*kha rəhəl hoebəh*	'You(MH) may have been eating'
kha	rəhəl	ho	əb + ẽ	*kha rəhəl hoebẽ*	'You(NH) may have been eating'

6.2.4 Tense

Maithili verbs conjugate for three tenses – past, present, and future. The tense markers are listed below:

Past	*-əl-*[6]	
Future	*-əb-*[7]	first and second persons
	-ət-	elsewhere
Present	*-0-*	

When there are no aspect markers or auxiliaries occurring immediately after the verb stem, then the tense markers are added directly to the verb stem itself. Otherwise, these occur after the auxiliary, which is preceded by the aspect marker. All this is really just a consequence of the fact that the finite verb is the one that is marked for tense (see 6.2). Note also that no overt tense marker is used in the present tense; in other words, in present tense constructions the auxiliary itself serves the function of the tense. For purposes of analysis, this implies that when in a combination of main verb and auxiliary without tense manifestations as in the present tense, the nonrealized tense marker should be located in the auxiliary. The following examples are illustrative:

(504) *rəmes bhojən kəe-l-əinh*
Ramesh food do-PST-(3H)
'Ramesh ate.'

(505) *əhã kailh jae-b*
You(H) tomorrow go-FUT-(2H)
'You will go tomorrow.'

(506) *tõ ja-it ch-ẽ*
You(NH) go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2NH)
'You go/You are going.'

6.2.5 Mood

In Maithili, five moods are distinguished: indicative, imperative, optative, presumptive, and conditional. Not all of these moods are indicated by overt morphological markers. On purely morphosyntactic grounds, three moods can be distinguished: imperative, optative, and conditional. Two more moods, viz., indicative and presumptive, are added to the list for the sake of completeness of the data.

6.2.5.1 Indicative mood

This is the basic mood in which information is imparted in Maithili. There is no explicit marker signaling indicative mood. All the Maithili sentences which are not examples of other moods discussed below are in the indicative mood:

(507) *nokər bhat kha-it əich*
servant rice eat-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'The servant eats rice/The servant is eating rice.'

(508) *nokər bhat khəe-l-ək*
servant rice eat-PST-(3NH)
'The servant ate the rice.'

(509) *nokər bhat kaṛh-ət*
servant rice serve-FUT-(3NH)
'The servant will serve the rice.'

6.2.5.2 Presumptive mood

The presumptive mood conveys the meaning of possibility. It is formed by adding future tense markers to the auxiliary *ho-* 'be' when the main verb is in the perfective aspect, e. g.,

(510) *o uṭh-əl hoe-t-ah*
he(H) rise-PERF AUX-FUT-(3H)
'He may have gotten up.' (lit.: 'He will have gotten up.')

(511) *həm-hũ khəe-ne hoe-b*
I-EMPH eat-PERF AUX-FUT-(1)
'I too may have eaten/Even I may have eaten.' (lit.: 'I too will have eaten.')

(512) *tõ kəlkətta ge-l hoe-b-e*
You(NH) Calcutta go-PERF AUX-FUT-(2NH)
'You may have gone to Calcutta.' (lit.: 'You will have gone to Calcutta.')

6.2.5.3 Imperative mood

The imperative mood conveys an order or a request: the speaker commands (or requests) the addressee to realize the event.

As in very many natural languages of the world, the unmarked imperative forms of Maithili are the affixless[8] verb stems themselves. However, overt morphological devices are employed in order to indicate honorificity. Unlike in most Indo-Aryan languages, imperative forms are also available in Maithili for the 1st and 3rd person subject pronouns. The markers of the imperative mood are shown below:

Imperative mood

1	*-u*
2H	*-ə*[9]
	-u
2MH	*-əh*
2NH	*-0*[10]
	-o
3H	*-əuth*
3NH	*-ɔ ~ o*

Examples:

(513) *(həm) ja-u*
I go-IMP-(1)
'May I go!'

(514) *(əhã)*[11] *cəl-u*
You(H) walk-IMP-(2H)
'(You) go!'

(515) *(əhã) di-ə*
You(H) give-IMP-(2H)
'(You) give!'

(516) *(tõ) cəl-əh*
You(MH) walk-IMP-(2MH)
'(You) go!'

(517) *(tõ) cəl-0*
You(NH) walk-IMP-(2NH)
'(You) go!'

(518) *(tõ) kh-o*
You(NH) eat-IMP-(2NH)
'(You) eat!'

(519) *(o) cəl-əuth*
he(H) walk-IMP-(3H)
'He may go (Let him go)!'

(520) *(u) cəl-ɔ*
he(NH) walk-IMP-(3NH)
'He may go (Let him go)!'

All the sentences used to exemplify the imperative mood above were examples of 'ordinary' or 'present' imperative. However, Maithili also has 'future' imperative constructions involving 2MH and 2NH subjects alone.

The term 'future imperative' may appear to be a contradiction in terminology, since imperative sentences are notionally always future in semantics. In an (ordinary) imperative sentence, the speaker commands, requests, etc., the addressee to realize the event, and it is anticipated that the addressee will perform the event at a time immediately succeeding the time of asking. For the future imperative Maithili uses a distinct morphological marker *-ih-* which then conveys that the speaker asks the addressee categorically to perform the task at a time later than the time of asking.

The full forms of the future imperative mood with person and honorific grades are given below:

Future imperative

2NH	*-ih-ẽ/e*[12]
2MH	*-ih-əh*

A few examples are given to illustrate:

(521) *rəu məŋla tõ kailh*
VOC(2NH) Mangala You(NH) tomorrow
jə-ih-ẽ
go-FUT IMP-(2NH)
'O Mangala, go tomorrow!'

(522) *həu sunər tõ ghər dekh-ih-əh*
VOC(2MH) Sunar You(MH) house see-FUT IMP-(2MH)
'O Sunar, have an eye on the house!'

In impersonal imperative constructions, the marker of the imperative mood is invariably *-i*:

(523) *ena nəi baj-i*
this way not speak-IMP
'One should not talk like this!'

(524) *bhor me ram-ək nam l-i*
morning in Ram-GENIT name take-IMP
'One should chant the name of Lord Ram in the morning!'

Prohibitive imperatives simply add the ordinary negative marker *nəi* to an imperative form:

(525) *nəi j-o*
not go-IMP-(2NH)
'Don't go!'

(526) *i nəi kha-u*
this not eat-IMP-(2H)
'Don't eat it!'

6.2.5.4 Optative mood

In an optative construction, the speaker desires an event of some participant: usually, blessings and curses are expressed. The markers of the optative mood are shown below:

Optative mood

1 & 2H	*-i*
2MH	*-əh*
2NH	*-o*

3H	-əith[13]
3NH	-əe ~ ɔ

Examples:

(527) *he bhəgban həm pas bhə ja-i*
VOC(3H) God I pass become go-OPT-(1)
'May I pass, o Lord!'

(528) *tõ məir j-o*
You(NH) die go-OPT-(2NH)
'May you die!'

(529) *raja dirghau ho-ith*
King long life become-OPT-(3H)
'May the King live long!'

(530) *he bhəgban tõ ok-ra sərap*
VOC(3H) God You(2MH) he(NH)-ACC/DAT curse
d-əh
give-OPT-(2MH)
'May you curse him, o Lord!'

(531) *he bhəgban u rait-e me məir*
VOC(3H) God he(NH) night-EMPH in die
ja-e
go-OPT-(3NH)
'May he die overnight, o Lord!'

6.2.5.5 Conditional mood

A typical conditional sentence consists of an antecedent (or a condition) and a consequent. The antecedent represents the event described by the *jɔ̃* (or *jədi*) 'if'-clause, while the consequent represents the event described by the *tə* 'then'-clause:

(532) *jɔ̃ əhã pəṛh-əit ch-i tə bes*
if you(H) read-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H) then good
əich
is-(3NH)
'If you study, then it is good.'

(533) *jɔ̃ həm ṭhaṛh bhe-l-əhũ tə əhã cheka*
if I stand become-PST-(1) then you(H) block
jae-b
go-FUT-(2H)
'If I stood, you would be blocked.'

(534) *jɔ̃ o cəl-t-ah tə həm-hũ cəl-əb*
if he(H) walk-FUT-(3H) then I-EMPH walk-FUT-(1)
'If he goes, then I will go, too.'

Sentences [532–534] are all examples of 'indicative' conditionals, in which both the antecedent and the consequent clauses are tensed and the conditionality is conveyed distinctly through an overt marker *jɔ̃* 'if'. In contrast to indicative conditionals, 'counterfactual' conditionals are mood-marked in both the antecedent and consequent clauses, and also use the marker *jɔ̃*. Tense distinctions may not be shown, but the honorificity distinctions are obligatorily maintained even in counterfactual conditionals. The following examples are illustrative:

(535) *jɔ̃ bərkha ho-it tə khub dhan*
if rain be-COND-(3NH) then much paddy
ho-it
be-COND-(3NH)
'Had it rained, the paddy would have grown in plenty.'

(536) *jɔ̃ əhã puja kəir-t-əhũ tə həm-hũ*
if you(H) worship do-COND-(2H) then I-EMPH
kəir-t-əhũ
do-COND-(1)
'Had you worshipped, I would have, too.'

(537) *jɔ̃ o həm-ər bat suin-t-əith tə*
if he(H) I-GENIT talk hear-COND-(3H) then
hun-ka ena nəi ho-it-əinh
he(H)-ACC/DAT this way not be-COND-(3H)
'Had he listened to me, he wouldn't have suffered so.' (lit.: 'If he had listened to my talk, then it wouldn't have been this way to him.')

As is self-evident from the above examples, the marker of the counterfactual conditional mood in Maithili is basically *-it-* for all persons. The full

forms of the counterfactual conditional mood with person and honorific grades are shown below:

Counterfactual conditional mood

1/2H	*-it-əhũ (-it-i)*[14]
2MH	*-it-əh*
2NH	*-it-ẽ/e*
3H	*-it-əith*
3NH	*-(ə)it-0*

6.2.6 Person and honorificity

The inflectional affixes of Maithili verbs represent three persons (i.e., first, second, and third), and three honorific grades[15] (namely, honorific, mid-honorific, and non-honorific) for the second person and two grades (honorific and non-honorific) for the third person. These affixes vary according to tense and transitivity, as shown below:

	First person	Second person (H)H	MH	NH		Third person H	NH
Present	*-i*	*-i*	*-əh*	*-e/-ẽ*		*-əith(-əthinh)*	*-0 ~ əik*[16]
Past	*-əhũ/-i*	*-əhũ/-i*	*-əh*	*-e/-ẽ*	Tr	*-əinh* *(-əith)* *(-əthinh)* *-əkhinh*	*-ək*
					Intr	*-ah* *(-əith)* *(-əthinh)* *-əkhinh*	*-0*
Future	*-0 ~ əik*	*-0 ~ əik*	*-əh*	*-e/-ẽ*		*-ah* *(-əthinh)*	*-0 ~ -əik*

The inflectional affixes listed above are the 'primary' agreement affixes (more will be said about 'primary' and 'secondary' agreement markers in 6.3). The following examples are illustrative:

(538) *həm əb-əit ch-i* Present tense
I come-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I come/am coming.'

(539) *həm kitab pəṛh-əit ch-i*
I book read-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I read a book.'

(540) *əhã ja rəhəl ch-i*
You(H) go PROG AUX-PRES-(2H)
'You are going.'

(541) *əhã ciṭṭhi likh-əit ch-i*
You(H) letter write-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'You write a letter/You are writing a letter.'

(542) *tõ sut-əit ch-ẽ*
You(NH) sleep-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2NH)
'You sleep.'

(543) *tõ am kha rəhəl ch-e*
You(NH) mango eat PROG AUX-PRES-(2NH)
'You are eating a mango.'

(544) *tõ am kha rəhəl ch-əh*
You(MH) mango eat PROG AUX-PRES-(2MH)
'You are eating a mango.'

(545) *o ja rəhəl ch-əith*
he(H) go PROG AUX-PRES-(3H)
'He is going.'

(546) *o kitab pəiṛh rəhəl ch-əith*
he(H) book read PROG AUX-PRES-(3H)
'He is reading a book.'

(547) *u/o ja-it əich/ch-əik*
he(NH) go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'He goes/is going.'

(548) *u/o kam kə rəhəl əich*
he(NH) work do PROG AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'He is working.' (lit.: 'He is doing a job.')

(549) *həm əe-l-əhũ/əi-l-i* Past tense
I come-PST-(1)
'I came.'

(550) *həm bhat khəe-l-əhũ/khəi-l-i*
I rice eat-PST-(1)
'I ate rice.'

(551) *əhã bhat khəe-l-əhũ*
You(H) rice eat-PST-(2H)
'You ate rice.'

(552) *tõ ge-l-e*
You(NH) go-PST-(2NH)
'You went.'

(553) *tõ bhat khəe-l-əh*
You(MH) rice eat-PST-(2MH)
'You ate rice.'

(554) *o bhat khə-l-əinh/khəe-l-əith*
he(H) rice eat-PST-(3H)
'He ate rice.'

(555) *o ghər ge-l-ah*
he(H) house go-PST-(3H)
'He went home.'

(556) *u ge-l-0*
he(NH) go-PST-(3NH)
'He went.'

(557) *u bhat khəe-l-ək*
he(NH) rice eat-PST-(3NH)
'He ate rice.'

(558) *həm jae-b-0/jæ-b-0* Future tense
I go-FUT-(1)
'I will go'

(559) *həm kailh jæ-b-0/jəe-b-əik*
I tomorrow go-FUT-(1)
'I will go tomorrow.'

(560) *əhã gam jae-b-0*
You(H) village go-FUT-(2H)
'You will go home.' (lit.: 'You will go to the village.')

(561) *tõ am khəe-b-e*
You(NH) mango eat-FUT-(2NH)
'You will eat a mango.'

(562) *tõ gam jəe-b-əh*
You(MH) village go-FUT-(2MH)
'You will go home.' (lit.: 'You will go to the village.')

(563) *o am khə-t-ah*
he(H) mango eat-FUT-(3H)
'He will eat a mango.'

(564) *u jæ-t-0*
he(NH) go-FUT-(3NH)
'He will go.'

(565) *u bhat khæt-0/khəe-t-əik*
he(NH) rice eat-FUT-(3NH)
'He will eat rice.'

6.3 Verb agreement

It has been shown above that Maithili verbs are specified for such categories as tense, mood, and aspect. In this section, we will discuss rules of agreement which function to copy features from noun phrases onto verbal inflections, and distinguish between 'primary' and 'secondary' verb agreement.

The most basic type of verb agreement in Maithili is with a single noun phrase in a sentence; in other words, verb agreement inflections encode the person and honorific grade of the subject noun phrase which is in the nominal case. Consider, for example, the past tense forms of *ch-* 'to be' in [566–571]; in each of these examples, the form of the verb agreement inflection is determined by the person and honorific grade of the subject noun phrase:

(566) *həm ch-əl-əhũ/ch-əl-i*
I be-PST-(1)
'I was'

(567) *əhã ch-əl-əhũ/ch-əl-i*
You(H) be-PST-(2H)
'You were'

(568) *tõ ch-əl-əh*
You(MH) be-PST-(2MH)
'You were'

(569) *tõ ch-əl-e*
You(NH) be-PST-(2NH)
'You were'

(570) *o* *ch-əl-ah*
he(H) be-PST-(3H)
'He was'

(571) *u* *ch-əl-0*
he(NH) be-PST-(3NH)
'He was'

A two-dimensional verb agreement also exists in Maithili, and needs to be distinguished in a thorough description of Maithili verb morphology. In such an instance, the features of more than one noun phrase in a sentence are copied on the verb agreement inflections. Both types of verb agreement systems are discussed below.

6.3.1 Primary agreement inflections

A verb's primary agreement inflection encodes the features of person and honorific grade of the subject noun phrase, and is obligatory. Most of the examples given thus far exhibit the primary agreement markers. A few more examples are given here:

(572) *u* *gai* *bənh-əit* *əich*
he(NH) cow tie-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'He is tying up the cow.'

(573) *u* *gai* *bənh-ne* *ch-əl-0*
he(NH) cow tie-PERF AUX-PST-(3NH)
'He had tied up the cow.'

(574) *sita* *bəjar* *jəe-t-ih*
Sita(H) market go-FUT-(3H, F)
'Sita will go to the market.'

(575) *o* *ae-l/æ-l* *ch-əith*
he(H) come-PERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'He has come.'

(576) *tõ* *bəukar* *ch-əh*
You(MH) strong be-PRES-(2MH)
'You are strong.'

(577) *tõ* *jə-it-e* *tə* *nik*
You(NH) go-COND-(2NH) then good
'It would have been better had you gone.'

6.3.2 Secondary agreement inflections

In addition to its primary inflection, a Maithili verb may also bear a secondary-agreement inflection. In such an instance, where the primary dimension of agreement is nominative, the secondary dimension is usually with the person and honorific grade of the indirect object noun phrase if one is present, or otherwise with the person and honorific grade of a direct-object noun phrase (marked with the accusative-dative case). Thus in each of the examples in [578–583], for instance, the verb bears a secondary-agreement inflection controlled by the direct-object noun phrase. (In these examples – and throughout this book – agreement inflections are glossed in the sequence 'primary + secondary'). The following examples are illustrative:

(578) *o* *to-ra* *dekh-əl-thunh*
he(H) you(NH)-ACC/DAT see-PST-(3H + 2NH)
'He(H) saw you(NH).'

(579) *tõ* *hun-ka* *dekh-əl-hunh*
you(NH) he(H)-ACC/DAT see-PST-(2NH + 3H)
'You(NH) saw him(H).'

(580) *həm* *hun-ka* *dekh-əl-iəinh*
I he(H)-ACC/DAT see-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I saw him(H).'

(581) *həm* *to-ra* *dekh-əl-iəuk*
I you(NH)-ACC/DAT see-PST-(1 + 2NH)
'I saw you(NH).'

(582) *həm* *to-ra* *dekh-əl-iəh*
I you(MH)-ACC/DAT see-PST-(1 + 2MH)
'I saw you(MH).'

(583) *həm* *ok-ra* *dekh-əl-iəik*
I he(NH)-ACC/DAT see-PST-(1 + 3NH)
'I saw him(NH).'

As these examples show, Maithili verbal morphology is highly fusional: in general, it is not possible to isolate separate primary and secondary agreement affixes on the verb in [578–583]. On the contrary, both the primary and secondary agreement inflections may be embodied in a unitary, unanalyzable affix, such as *-thunh* (3H + 2NH) or *-iəinh* (1 + 3H) in [578] and [580] respectively. Moreover, the exact form of these agree-

ment affixes may vary with the tense of the verb. The inventory of composite agreement affixes for present, past, and future tenses is given in Tables 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3.

Table 6.1: Composite present tense agreement inflections in Maithili

OBJECT	3H	3NH	2H	2MH	2NH	1
SUBJECT						
3H	*əthinh*	*əthinh*	0	*əthunh*	*əthunh*	0
3NH	*əinh*	*əik*/0	0	*əh*	*əuk*	0
2H	*iəinh*	*iəik*/0	–	–	–	0
2MH	*əhunh*	*əhək*	–	–	–	0
2NH	*əhunh*	*əhik*/0	–	–	–	0
1	*iəinh*	*iəik*/0	0	*iəh*	*iəuk*	–

[0 = no overt marking; – does not apply]

Table 6.2: Composite past tense agreement affixes in Maithili

OBJECT	3H	3NH	2H	2MH	2NH	1
SUBJECT						
3H	*əkhinh* *əthinh* *əkhihinh* *əthihinh* (*əkəinh*) (*əinh*)	*əkhinh* *əthinh* (*əinh*) 0	*əinh* (0)	*əkhunh* *əkhuhunh* *əthunh* *əthuhunh*	*əkhunh* *əkhuhunh* *əthunh* *əthuhunh*	*əinh*
3NH	*əkəinh* (*əinh*)[a]	*əkəik* (*əik*)[b]	0	*əkəh* (*əh*)[c]	*əkəuk* (*əuk*)[d]	0
2H	*iəinh*	*iəik* 0	–	–	–	0
2MH	*əhunh* *əhəh*	*əhək* *əhəh*	–	–	–	0
2NH	*əhunh*	*əhik*	–	–	–	0
1	*iəinh*	*iəik* (0)	0	*iəh* *io*	*iəuk*	–

a. For transitive and intransitive verbs, *-əkəinh* and *-əinh* are used respectively in those constructions where the 3H genitive noun phrase modifies the 3NH subject noun phrase (i. e., 3NH + 3H), e. g.,

hun-k-ər *nokər* *əe-l-əinh* (intransitive)
he(H)-GENIT servant come-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'His servant came.'

hun-k-ər *nokər* *khəe-l-kəinh* (transitive)
he(H)-GENIT servant eat-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'His servant ate.'

b. *-əik* is the marker for 3NH + 3NH combinations in those *-a*-ending intransitive verb constructions wherein the genitive noun phrase modifying the subject noun phrase controls the secondary verb agreement:

ok-ər *nokər* *əe-l-əik* (intransitive)
he(NH)-GENIT servant come-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'His servant came.'

but,

ok-ər *nokər* *khəe-l-kəik* (transitive)
he(NH)-GENIT servant eat-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'His servant ate.'

-əik is also the agreement marker for 3NH + 3NH combinations when an auxiliary verb is used:

ok-ra *aĩkh* *dukh-ait* *ch-əik*
he(NH)-ACC/DAT eye hurt-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'His eyes hurt.'

ok-ra *ek-ṭa* *beṭa* *ch-əik*
he(NH)-ACC/DAT one-CLAS son AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'He has a son.'

c. With auxiliary verbs, the secondary agreement for 3NH + 2MH is *-əh*, e. g.,

u *to-ra* *dekh-ne* *ch-əl-əh*
he(NH) you(NH)-ACC/DAT see-PERF AUX-PST-(3NH + 2MH)
'He had seen you'

i *toh-ər* *ḍhəua* *bhe-l-əh*
this you(MH)-GENIT money become-PST-(3NH + 2MH)
'This is your money.' (lit.: 'This became your money.')

i *toh-ər* *ghər* *ch-əl-əh*
this you(MH)-GENIT house AUX-PST-(3NH + 2MH)
'This was your house.'

In *-a*-ending intransitive verb constructions where the genitive noun phrases modifying the subject noun phrases control the secondary verb agreement, *-əh* is also the marker for 3NH + 2MH combinations, e. g.,

toh-ər *beṭa* *əe-l-əh*
You(MH)-GENIT son come-PST-(3NH + 2MH)
'Your son came.'

d. With auxiliary verbs, the secondary agreement affix for 3NH + 2NH is *-əuk*, e. g.,

u *to-ra* *bheṭ-əl* *ch-əl-əuk*
he(NH) you(NH)-ACC/DAT meet-PERF AUX-PST-(3NH + 2NH)
'He had met you.'

-əuk is also used as the secondary-agreement affix in those constructions wherein 2NH genitive noun phrases modifying the subject noun phrases control the secondary verb agreement:

i *toh-ər* *bhe-l-əuk*
this you(NH)-GENIT become-PST-(3NH + 2NH)
'This is yours.' (lit.: 'This became yours.')

i *toh-ər* *ch-əl-əuk*
this you(NH)-GENIT be-PST-(3NH + 2NH)
'This was yours.'

In *-a*-ending intransitive verb constructions where the genitive noun phrases modifying the subject noun phrases control the secondary verb agreement, *-əuk* is also the marker for 3NH + 2NH combinations, e. g.,

toh-ər *beṭa* *əe-l-əuk*
You(NH)-GENIT son come-PST-(3NH + 2NH)
'Your son came.'

toh-ər *nokər* *ge-l-əuk*
You(NH)-GENIT servant go-PST-(3NH + 2NH)
'Your servant went.'

A few examples are given for illustration:

Present tense

(584) *o* *hun-ka* *kitab* *d-əit*
he(H) he(H)-ACC/DAT book give-IMPERF
ch-əthinh
AUX-PRES-(3H + 3H)
'He gives him a book.'

Table 6.3: Composite future tense agreement affixes in Maithili

OBJECT	3H	3NH	2H	2MH	2NH	1
SUBJECT						
3H	*əinh* *əthinh*	*əthinh*	0	əthunh	əthunh	0
3NH	*əinh*	*əik*	0	əh	əuk	0
2H	*əinh*	*əik*	–	–	–	0
2MH	*əhunh*	*əhək*	–	–	–	0
2NH	*əhunh*	*əhik*	–	–	–	0
1	*əinh*	*əik* (0)	0	*əh*	*əuk*	–

(585) *tõ* *hun-ka* *kitab* *d-əit*
you(NH) he(H)-ACC/DAT book give-IMPERF
ch-əhunh
AUX-PRES-(2NH + 3H)
'You give him a book.'

(586) *həm* *ok-ra* *kitab* *d-əit*
I he(NH)-ACC/DAT book give-IMPERF
ch-iəik
AUX-PRES-(1 + 3NH)
'I give him a book.'

(581) *o* *həm-ra* *kitab* *d-əit*
he(H) I-ACC/DAT book give-IMPERF
ch-əith-0
AUX-PRES-(3H + 1)
'He gives me a book.'

(588) *həm* *to-ra* *kitab* *d-əit*
I you(NH)-ACC/DAT book give-IMPERF
ch-iəuk
AUX-PRES-(1 + 2NH)
'I give you a book.'

Past tense

(589) *o* *to-ra* *kitab* *de-l-thunh*
he(H) you(NH)-ACC/DAT book give-PST-(3H + 2NH)
'He gave you a book.'

(590) *tõ həm-ər kitab hun-ka*
You(NH) I-GENIT book he(H)-ACC/DAT
de-l-hunh
give-PST-(2NH + 3H)
'You gave my book to him.'

(591) *həm hun-ka toh-ər kitab*
I he(H)-ACC/DAT you(NH)-GENIT book
de-l-iəinh
give-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I gave him your book.'

Future tense

(592) *o hun-ka kitab de-t-əinh/de-t-əthinh*
he(H) he(H)-ACC/DAT book give-FUT-(3H + 3H)
'He will give him the book.'

(593) *tõ hun-ka həm-ər kitab*
You(NH) he(H)-ACC/DAT I-GENIT book
de-b-hunh
give-FUT-(2NH + 3H)
'You will give him my book.'

(594) *həm to-ra hun-k-ər kitab*
I You(NH)-ACC/DAT he(H)-GENIT book
de-b-əuk
give-FUT-(1 + 2NH)
'I will give you his book.'

(595) *əhã hun-ka əpən kitab*
You(H) he(H)-ACC/DAT REFL book
de-b-əinh
give-FUT-(2H + 3H)
'You will give him your book.'

The above examples illustrate the cases where the object noun phrase controlling the secondary verb agreement is invariably marked with the accusative-dative case. However, the person and honorific grade of the genitive noun phrase modifying the subject noun phrase also trigger the secondary verb agreement. For instance, the 2NH, 2MH, 3H, and 3NH genitive noun phrases modifying the 3H and 3NH subject noun phrases trigger the secondary verb agreement, while the 1 and 2H genitive modifi-

ers do not. All the genitive modifiers, nevertheless, behave like ordinary non-subject noun phrases in controlling the secondary verb agreement. A few examples are given below for illustration:

(596) a. *toh-ər babu əe-l-thunh* Intransitive
You(NH)-GENIT father(H) come-PST-(3H + 2NH)
'Your father came.'

b. *toh-ər nokər əe-l-əuk*
You(NH)-GENIT servant come-PST-(3NH + 2NH)
'Your servant came.'

c. *toh-ər nokər khəe-l-kəuk* Transitive
You(NH)-GENIT servant eat-PST-(3NH + 2NH)
'Your servant ate.'

(597) a. *toh-ər babu əe-l-thunh* Intransitive
You(MH)-GENIT father come-PST-(3H + 2MH)
'Your father came.'

b. *toh-ər nokər əe-l-əh*
You(MH)-GENIT servant come-PST-(3NH + 2MH)
'Your servant came.'

c. *toh-ər nokər khəe-l-kəh* Transitive
You(NH)-GENIT servant eat-PST-(3NH + 2MH)
'Your servant ate.'

(598) a. *hun-k-ər babu əe-l-khinh* Intransitive
he(H)-GENIT father come-PST-(3H + 3H)
'His father came.'

b. *hun-k-ər nokər əe-l-əinh*
he(H)-GENIT servant come-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'His servant came.'

c. *hun-k-ər nokər khəe-l-kəeinh* Transitive
he(H)-GENIT servant eat-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'His servant ate.'

(599) a. *ok-ər babu əe-l-khinh* Intransitive
he(NH)-GENIT father come-PST-(3H + 3NH)
'His father came.'

b. *ok-ər nokər əe-l-əik*
he(NH)-GENIT servant come-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'His servant came.'

c. *ok-ər nokər khəe-l-kəik* Transitive
he(NH)-GENIT servant eat-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'His servant ate.'

but,

(600) a. *həm-ərləhã-k* *babu* *jəe-t-ah*
I-GENIT/You(H)-GENIT father go-FUT-(3H)
'My/Your father will go.'

b. *həm-ərləhã-k* *nokər* *jae-t-0/jæ-t-0*
I-GENIT/You(H)-GENIT servant go-FUT-(3NH)
'My/Your servant will go.'

c. *həm-ərləhã-k* *nokər* *ge-l-0*
I-GENIT/You(H)-GENIT servant go-PST-(3NH)
'My/Your servant went.'

d. *həm-ərləhã-k* *nokər* *ja-it*
I-GENIT/You(H)-GENIT servant go-IMPERF
əich
AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'My/Your servant goes.'

and so on.

Genitive noun phrases modifying the direct object noun phrases also trigger the secondary verb agreement. Once again, the secondary agreement affixes encoded for the genitive noun phrases modifying the direct-object noun phrases are the ones encoded for direct objects in general. Compare the following sentences:

(601) a. *həm* *to-ra* *mastər-o* *ke*
I you(NH)-GENIT teacher(H)-EMPH ACC/DAT
pəṛh-ɔ-l-iəuk
read-CAUS-PST-(1 + 2NH)
'I taught even your teacher.'

b. *həm* *to-ra* *beṭ-o* *ke*
I you(NH)-GENIT son(NH)-EMPH ACC/DAT
pəṛh-ɔ-l-iəuk
read-CAUS-PST-(1 + 2NH)
'I taught even your son.'

c. *həm* *to-r-o*
I you(NH)-ACC/DAT-EMPH
pəṛh-ɔ-l-iəuk
read-CAUS-PST-(1 + 2NH)
'I taught even you.'

(602) a. *həm* *jibəch-ək* *guru* *ke*
I Jibach(H)-GENIT teacher(H) ACC/DAT
dekh-əl-iəinh
see-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I saw Jibach's teacher.'

b. *həm* *jibəch-ək* *kukur* *ke*
I Jibach(H)-GENIT dog(NH) ACC/DAT
dekh-əl-iəinh
see-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I saw Jibach's dog.'

c. *həm* *jibəch* *ke* *dekh-əl-iəinh*
I Jibach(H) ACC/DAT see-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I saw Jibach.'

d. *həm* *kukur* *ke* *dekh-əl-iəik*
I dog(NH) ACC/DAT see-PST-(1 + 3NH)
'I saw the dog.'

It has been stated above that the person and honorific grade of a genitive noun phrase modifying the subject determine the secondary verb agreement. Upon closer scrutiny, it turns out that the facts of verb agreement in Maithili are a little more complicated than that. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the secondary-agreement inflection encodes the features of a genitive noun phrase modifying a genitive noun phrase which in turn modifies the subject. The following examples are illustrative:

(603) a. *tõ* *ok-ra* *dekh-l-əhik*
You(NH) he(NH)-ACC/DAT see-PST-(2NH + 3NH)
'You saw him.'

b. *tõ* *ok-ra* *beṭa* *ke*
You(NH) he(NH)-GENIT son ACC/DAT
dekh-l-əhik
see-PST-(2NH + 3NH)
'You saw his son.'

c. *toh-ər* *beṭa* *dekh-əl-kəuk*
You(NH)-GENIT son see-PST-(3NH + 2NH)
'Your son saw.'

d. *toh-ər* *beṭa* *ok-ra*
You(NH)-GENIT son he(NH)-ACC/DAT
dekh-əl-kəuk
see-PST-(3NH + 2NH)
'Your son saw him.'

e. *toh-ər* *beṭa* *ok-ra* *beṭa* *ke*
You(NH)-GENIT son he(NH)-GENIT son ACC/DAT
dekh-əl-kəuk
see-PST-(3NH + 2NH)
'Your son saw his son.'

Prima facie, the person and honorific grade of "dative" subjects (which are invariably marked with the ACC/DAT case) may seem to trigger the secondary verb agreement. However, if dative subject sentences are treated as having a null dummy subject which is 3NH (cf. English *it*), then the rules of secondary verb agreement are as discussed above. A few examples are given below:

(604) *to-ra* *math* *dukha-it*
You(NH)-ACC/DAT head ache-IMPERF
ch-əuk
AUX-PRES-(3NH + 2NH)
'You have a headache.'

(605) *hun-ka* *bhukh* *ləg-l-əinh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT hunger attach-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He got hungry.'

(606) *ok-ra* *hə̃si* *laig* *ge-l-əik*
he(NH)-ACC/DAT laughter attach go-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'He felt like laughing.'

(607) *həm-ra* *paik* *ge-l-0*
I-ACC/DAT burn go-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I got burned.'

Once again, on the surface it may appear that the "direct object" (which is not case-referenced) of a dative-subject construction actually controls the primary agreement, with the dative subject itself controlling the secondary agreement. However, if such a construction is interpreted as a regular SOV construction in which the DO equals S, and the "dative" S equals DO, then the rules of agreement typically are as shown in Tables 6.1–6.3.
Examples:

(608) *mohən* *ke* *mədhu* *nik*
Mohan(NH) ACC/DAT Madhu(H) good
ləg-l-əinh/ləg-əl-khinh
attach-PST-(3H + 3NH)
'Mohan liked Madhu.'

(609) *mohən* *ke* *əhã* *nik*
Mohan(NH) ACC/DAT you(H) good
ləg-əl-iəik
attach-PST-(2H + 3NH)
'Mohan liked you.'

(610) *əhã* *ke* *o* *nik* *ləg-l-ah-0*
You(H) ACC/DAT he(H) good attach-PST-(3H + 2H)
'You liked him.'

(611) *həm-ra* *tõ* *nik* *ləg-l-e-0*
I-ACC/DAT you(NH) good attach-PST-(2NH + 1)
'I liked you.'

and so on.

Mention must also be made of those infinitival constructions in which the "dative" subject and the case-marked object (i. e., indirect or direct) are present. Here again, the composite inflectional affixes encode the person and honorific grade of a dummy subject and the person and honorific grade of the "dative" subject interpreted as object. This is exemplified below:

(612) *hun-ka* *hun-ka* *kitab* *de-bak* *mən*
he(H)-ACC/DAT *ok-ra* book give-INF mind
həm-ra
to-ra
əhã ke
DS IO DO
bhe-l-əinh
become-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He wanted to give him (H,NH)/me/you (NH,H) a book.'

(613) *to-ra* *hun-ka* *dekh-bak* *mən*
You(NH)-ACC/DAT he(H)-ACC/DAT see-INF mind
bhe-l-əuk
become-PST-(3NH + 2NH)
'You wanted to see him.'

(614) *ok-ra* *to-ra* *dekh-bak*
he(NH)-ACC/DAT you(NH)-ACC/DAT see (verbal noun)
mən *bhe-l-əik*
mind become-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'He wanted to see you.'

(615) *to-ra* *hun-ka* *dekh-bak*
You(NH)-ACC/DAT he(H)-ACC/DAT see (verbal noun)
mən *ho-it* *ch-əuk*
mind become-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 2NH)
'You want to see him.'

(616) *həm-ra* *ok-ra* *dekh-bak* *mən*
I-ACC/DAT he(NH)-ACC/DAT see (verbal noun) mind
ho-it *əich-0*
become-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 1)
'I want to see him.'

and so on.

It should also be mentioned that the form of a few secondary verb agreement affixes varies according to mood as well. This is exemplified below:

Imperative and optative mood

1/2H + 3H	*-iəunh*
1/2H + 3NH	*-iəuk*
3H + 3H/NH	*-əthunh* (*əinh*)[17]
3NH + 3H	
3NH + 3NH	*-əuk*

Examples:

(617) a. *d-iəunh*
give-(2H + 3H)
'Give him!' (lit.: '(YouH) give (himNH)!')
b. *puch-iəuk*
ask-(2H + 3NH)
'Ask him!' (lit.: '(YouH) ask (himNH)!')
c. *puch-iəunh?*
ask-(1 + 3H)
'May I ask him?'
d. *puch-thunh*
ask-(3H + 3H)
'He may ask him/Let him ask him.'
e. *d-əuk*
give-(3NH + 3NH)
'He may give him/Let him give him.'

and so on.

Finally, a closing remark should be made on the pattern of secondary verb agreement in Maithili. It appears that there is a general constraint on the use of secondary verb-agreement inflections. For example, these inflections generally cannot be controlled by the object of a postposition:

(618) *tõ* *həm-ra* *səl* *hun-ka* *səl*
You(NH) I-ACC/DAT from he(H)-ACC/DAT from
ok-ra *sə* *le-l-e*
he(NH)-ACC/DAT from take-PST-(2NH)
'You took from me/him(H)/him(NH)'

(619) *həm* *to-ra* *səl* *hun-ka* *səl*
I You(NH)-ACC/DAT from he(H)-ACC/DAT from
ok-ra *sə* *le-l-əhũ*
he(NH)-ACC/DAT from take-PST-(1)
'I took it from you(NH)/him(H)/him(NH).'

(620) *to-ra* *hun-ka* *mel* *həm-ra*
You(MH)-ACC/DAT he(H)-ACC/DAT in I-ACC/DAT
mel *ok-ra* *mel* *biswas*
in he(NH)-ACC/DAT in faith
ch-əh
be-PRES-(3NH + 2MH)
'You(MH) have faith in him(H)/me/him(NH).'

(621) *hun-ka* *həm-ra* *mel* *to-ra*
he(H)-ACC/DAT I-ACC/DAT in you(NH)-ACC/DAT
mel *ok-ra* *me* *biswas* *ch-əinh*
in he(NH)-ACC/DAT in faith be-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
'He(H) has faith in me/you(NH)/him(NH).'

(For more information on a theoretical discussion of verb agreement in Maithili, the reader is referred to Stump–Yadav 1988.)

6.4 Causative verb

Causative verbs in Maithili are derived through a highly productive morphological process. Causativization in Maithili is mainly suffixal. Basically, there are two types of causative verb forms in Maithili: (i) the "first" causative, which implies that the degree of closeness between the cause and effect is immediate or direct, and is formed by adding the suffix *-a* to the non-causative verb stem; and (ii) the "second" causative,

which implies that the degree of closeness between cause and effect is mediated or less direct, and is formed by adding the suffix *-ba* to the non-causative verb stem.

Thus, a total of three contrasting verb forms may be recognized in Maithili: (a) the basic non-causative verb form: *həṭ* 'move' (Intr); (b) the "first" causative form: *həṭ-a* 'remove'; and (c) the "second" causative form: *həṭ-ba* 'have someone remove'. Or, similarly (a) *pəṛh* 'study/read' (Tr), (b) *pəṛh-a* 'teach', and (c) *pəṛh-ba* 'have someone teach'.

In a few instances, however, a set of four contrasting verb forms is available: (a) *kəṭ* 'get cut' (Intr), (b) *kaṭ* 'cause to get cut' (Tr), (c) *kəṭ-a* 'cause to cut', and (d) *kəṭ-ba* 'have someone cut'.

Note that upon addition of the causative suffix the resultant form is a single causative verb stem to which all the agreement affixes may be added.

As was shown above, in Maithili both intransitive and transitive verbs can be causativized, and an intransitive verb becomes a transitive verb when the causative suffixes are added to the stem. As a matter of fact, when the direction of derivation is from intransitive to transitive, the derived transitive is often referred to as "causative". Thus, a few intransitive verbs first become transitive (with a "causative" meaning) through the process of sound change and suppletion; and only then are the causative suffixes added onto them. Consequently, a total of four contrasting verb forms are realized.

The processes of transitivization (through stem alternation) and causativization of such intransitive verbs are illustrated below.

6.4.1 Intransitive verbs

(i) A few monosyllabic intransitive verb stems of the CVC type (where V = ə) are transitivized by lowering the stem vowel into *a*:

Intr	*Tr*	*Caus I*	*Caus II*
mər-əb 'to die'	*mar-əb* 'kill/cause to die'	*mər-a-eb* 'cause to kill'	*mər-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) kill'
chər-əb 'get thatched'	*char-əb* 'thatch/cause to get thatched'	*chər-a-eb* 'cause to thatch'	*chər-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) thatch'
bə̃ṭ-əb 'get divided'	*bãṭ-əb* 'divide/cause to get divided'	*bə̃ṭ-a-eb* 'cause to divide'	*bə̃ṭ-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) divide'
səṭ-əb 'get stuck'	*saṭ-əb* 'cause to get stuck'	*səṭ-a-eb* 'cause to stick'	*səṭ-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) stick'
kəṭ-əb 'get cut'	*kaṭ-əb* 'cut/cause to cut'	*kəṭ-a-eb* 'cause to cut'	*kəṭ-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) cut'
hə̃k-əb 'get driven'	*hãk-əb* 'drive/cause to get driven'	*hə̃k-a-eb* 'cause to drive'	*hə̃k-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) drive'
sən-əb 'get mixed'	*san-əb* 'mix/cause to get mixed'	*sən-a-eb* 'cause to mix'	*sən-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) mix'
ləd-əb 'get loaded'	*lad-əb* 'load/cause to get loaded'	*ləd-a-eb* 'cause to load'	*ləd-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) load'
bənh-əb 'get tied'	*banh-əb* 'tie/cause to get tied'	*bənh-a-eb* 'cause to tie'	*bənh-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) tie'
nəŋh-əb 'get crossed over'	*naŋh-əb* 'cross over/cause to get crossed over'	*nəŋh-a-eb* 'cause to cross over'	*nəŋh-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) cross over'
jhə̃p-əb 'get covered'	*jhãp-əb* 'cover/cause to get covered'	*jhẽp-a-eb* 'cause to cover'	*jhə̃p-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) cover'

(ii) A few disyllabic intransitive verb stems of the type (C)VCVC (where the second vowel = ə) also become transitivized by lowering the second vowel into *a*:

Intr	*Tr*	*Caus I*	*Caus II*
pəjər-əb 'get the fire lighted'	*pajar-əb* 'light fire/cause the fire to get lighted'	*pəjr-a-eb* 'cause to light fire'	*pəjər-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) light fire'
sudhər-əb 'get improved'	*sudhar-əb* 'improve/cause to get improved'	*sudhr-a-eb* 'cause to improve'	*sudhər-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) improve'
nikəl-əb 'come out'	*nikal-əb* 'bring out'	*nikl-a-eb* 'cause to come out'	*nikəl-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) bring out'

ughər-əb 'get uncovered'	*ughar-əb* 'uncover/cause to get uncovered'	*ughr-a-eb* 'cause to uncover'	*ughər-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) uncover'
usər-əb 'get finished'	*usar-əb* 'finish/cause to get finished'	*usr-a-eb* 'cause to finish'	*usər-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) finish'

(iii) A few irregular intransitive verb stems are transitivized through the process of vowel gradation (high vowels become mid, and mid vowels become low), accompanied by changes in place and manner of articulation of stem-final consonants (for which no systematic rules seem to be statable):

Intr	*Tr*	*Caus I*	*Caus II*
bik-əb 'get sold'	*bec-əb* 'sell/cause to get sold'	*bec-a-eb* 'cause to sell'	*bec-ba-eb* 'cause (s. o.) to sell'
ruk-əb 'get stopped'	*rok-əb* 'stop/cause to get stopped'	*rok-a-eb* 'cause to stop'	*rok-ba-eb* 'cause (s. o.) to stop'
chuṭ-əb 'get left'	*choṛ-əb* 'leave/cause to get left'	*choṛ-a-eb* 'cause to leave'	*choṛ-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) leave'
ṭuṭ-əb 'get broken'	*toṛ-əb*[18] 'break/cause to get broken'	*toṛ-a-eb* 'cause to break'	*toṛ-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) break'
phuṭ-əb 'get cracked'	*phoṛ-əb* 'crack/cause to get cracked'	*phoṛ-a-eb* 'cause to crack'	*phoṛ-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) crack'
phəṭ-əb 'get torn'	*phaṛ-əb* 'tear/cause to get torn'	*phəṛ-a-eb* 'cause to tear'	*phəṛ-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) tear'

(iv) A limited set of intransitive verb stems and their transitive forms stand in a suppletive relationship:

Intr	*Tr*	*Caus I*	*Caus II*
a-eb 'come'	*an-əb* 'bring'	*ən-a-eb* 'cause to bring'	*ən-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) bring'

ja-eb 'go'	*paṭha-eb* *bhej-əb* 'send/cause to go'	*paṭh-a-eb*[19] *bhej-a-eb* 'cause to send'	*paṭh-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) send'
ho-eb 'become'	*kər-əb* *bəna-eb* 'make/build'	*kər-a-eb* *bən-a-eb* 'cause to happen'	*kər-ba-eb* *bən-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) make'
rəh-əb 'remain'	*rakh-əb* 'keep'	*rəkh-a-eb* 'cause to keep'	*rəkh-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) keep'

Not all intransitive verbs, however, yield a set of four contrasting forms – thus rendering the paradigm asymmetrical. Below is a list of a few intransitive verbs (of (C)VC and CVCVC types) which provide only three contrasting forms. In other words, the causative suffixes are added directly onto the intransitive stems themselves.

Intr	*Caus I*	*Caus II*
bən-əb 'be/become/get made'	*bən-a-eb* 'cause to become'	*bən-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) make'
bhər-əb 'get filled'	*bhər-a-eb* 'cause to fill'	*bhər-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) fill'
kud-əb 'jump'	*kud-a-eb* 'cause to jump'	*kud-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) jump'
khic-əb 'pull/get pulled'	*khic-a-eb* 'cause to pull'	*khic-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) pull'
khəul-əb 'boil/get boiled'	*khəul-a-eb* 'cause to boil'	*khəul-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) boil'
ḍər-əb 'be afraid'	*ḍər-a-eb* 'cause to fear/frighten'	*ḍər-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) frighten'
jhul-əb 'swing'	*jhul-a-eb* 'cause to swing'	*jhul-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) swing'
ghəṭ-əb 'lessen'	*ghəṭ-a-eb* 'cause to lessen'	*ghəṭ-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) lessen'
ḍub-əb 'drown'	*ḍub-a-eb* 'cause to drown'	*ḍub-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) drown'
cəṛh-əb 'climb'	*cəṛh-a-eb* 'cause to climb'	*cəṛh-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) climb'
uṭh-əb 'lift/wake up'	*uṭh-a-eb* 'cause to lift/wake up'	*uṭh-ba-eb* 'have (s. o.) lift/wake up'

bədəl-əb	*bədl-a-eb*	*bədəl-ba-eb*
'change'	'cause to change'	'have (s. o.) change'
ṭəhəl-əb	*ṭəhl-a-eb*	*ṭəhəl-ba-eb*
'walk'	'cause to walk'	'have (s. o.) cause to walk'

6.4.2 Transitive verbs

The causativization of (intrinsically) transitive verbs is a straightforward process in Maithili, and, generally speaking, there is no stem alternation of any kind.

Tr	*Caus I*	*Caus II*
likh-əb	*likh-a-eb*	*likh-ba-eb*
'write'	'cause to write'	'have (s. o.) cause to write'
duh-əb	*duh-a-eb*	*duh-ba-eb*
'milk'	'cause to milk'	'have (s. o.) milk'
gher-əb	*gher-a-eb*	*gher-ba-eb*
'encircle'	'cause to encircle'	'have (s. o.) encircle'
jot-əb	*jot-a-eb*	*jot-ba-eb*
'plough'	'cause to plough'	'have (s. o.) plough'
pəṛh-əb	*pəṛh-a-eb*	*pəṛh-ba-eb*
'read/study'	'teach/cause to read'	'have (s. o.) teach'

There are, nonetheless, a small number of transitive verb stems ending in vowels the "first" causative forms of which are made by stem alternation of a nonhigh vowel – i. e., *e* and *a* change into *i*. Also, the "second" causative verb forms of such transitive verbs are characterized by an insertion of *ə* between the "first" causative stem and the "second" causative suffix *-ba*:

Tr	*Caus I*	*Caus II*
kha-eb	*khi-a-eb*	*khiə-ba-eb*
'eat'	'feed'	'have (s. o.) eat'
la-eb	*li-a-eb*	*liə-ba-eb*
'bring'	'cause to bring'	'have (s. o.) bring'
pi-əb	*pi-a-eb*	*piə-ba-eb*
'drink'	'cause to drink'	'have (s. o.) cause to drink'
si-əb	*si-a-eb*	*siə-ba-eb*
'sew'	'cause to sew'	'have (s. o.) cause to sew'

de-əb	*di-a-eb*	*diə-ba-eb*
'give'	'cause to give'	'have (s. o.) cause to give'
le-əb	*li-a-eb*	*liə-ba-eb*
'take'	'cause to take'	'have (s. o.) cause to take'

Yet other transitive verb stems ending in *a* are characterized by the attachment of a suffix *b* preceding the "first" and "second" causative suffixes.[20] Note that the rule of *a* → *ə* applies to them as well (see chapter 2 for more information).

Tr	*Caus I*	*Caus II*
ga-eb	*gəb-a-eb*	*gəb-ba-eb*
'sing'	'cause to sing'	'have (s. o.) sing'
ba-eb	*bəb-a-eb*	*bəb-ba-eb*
'open (mouth)'	'cause to open'	'have (s. o.) open'
pa-eb	*pəb-a-eb*	*pəb-ba-eb*
'find'	'cause to find'	'have (s. o.) find'

The syntax and semantics of causative constructions in Maithili are discussed in chapter 9.

6.5 Compound and conjunct verbs

6.5.1 Compound verbs

A compound verb is a complex verbal unit which consists of a sequence of two verb stems (i. e., $V_1 + V_2$) but functions as a single simple verb. In linear terms, a compound verb consists of a main verb (which may or may not undergo a kind of vowel gradation, traditionally called an "absolutive") plus an appropriately inflected finite form of a second verb. The first verb will be called the pole or polar verb and the second verb the vector or vector verb (see Hook 1974 and Dasgupta 1977). The structure of the compound verb in Maithili is shown in the following formula:

Compound verb = V_1 [+/– stem alternation] + V_2 + Inflectional affixes

Examples:

(622) *həm kha le-l-əhũ*
I eat take-PST-(1)
'I ate up'

(623) *o* *cəil* *ge-l-ah*
he(H) walk go-PST-(3H)
'He went away'.

Before we proceed further, a few words should be said about the nature of stem alternation referred to in the formula above. It appears that the syllabic structure of a polar stem verb crucially determines the nature of the stem alternation: a polar verb stem ending in a consonant and preceded by a vowel other than *e* or *i* undergoes a kind of vowel gradation (illustrated below) when it is combined with a vector verb. No stem alternation occurs in a polar verb stem ending in a vowel other than *e*, when it is combined with a vector verb. The following examples are illustrative:

(624) *uṭh* + *ja-əit* *ch-i* → *uiṭh jait chi*
rise go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1) 'I get up'

(625) *kaṭ* + *le-ne* *ch-əuk* →
cut take-PERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 2NH)
kaiṭ lene chəuk
'It has bitten you'

(626) *lok* + *le-0* → *loik le*
catch in air take-IMP-(2NH) 'Catch (it) in the air!'

(627) *unəṭ* + *ge-l* → *unəiṭ gel*
roll over go-PST-(3NH) 'He/she/it rolled over'

(628) *ləṭək* + *ge-l* → *ləṭəik gel*
hang go-PST-(3NH) 'He/she/it hung'

but,

(629) *dekh* + *le-l-ək* → *dekh lelək*
see take-PST-(3NH + 1) 'He (suddenly) saw me'

(630) *kin* + *le-l-əhũ* → *kin*[21] *leləhũ*
buy take-PST-(1) 'I bought it'

(631) *pi* + *le-l-əith* → *pi*[22] *leləith*
drink take-PST-(3H) 'He drank up'

(632) *kha* + *le-l-əith* → *kha*[23] *leləith*
eat take-PST-(3H) 'He ate up'

Those stems which show alternation are illustrated below:

(633) *kər* + *le-l-ək* → *kə*[24] *lelək*
do take-PST-(3NH) 'He finished it up.'

(634) *dhər* + *le-0* → *dhə*[25] *le*
keep take-IMP-(2NH) 'Keep it!'

(635) *le* + *ja* *rəhəl* *ch-i* → *lə*[26] *ja rəhəl chi*
take go PROG AUX-PRES-(1) 'I am taking it away.'

6.5.1.1 Compound verbs vs. other complex verb sequences

Many types of complex verbal sequences exist in Maithili. Therefore it is necessary to distinguish a true compound verb from other complex verbal sequences. A few examples are given below for consideration:

(636) *o* *hə̃s-əit* *ch-əith*
he(H) laugh-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'He laughs.' (simple verb + auxiliary verb)

(637) *o* *həĩs* *rəhəl* *ch-əith*
he(H) laugh PROG AUX-PRES-(3H)
'He is laughing.' (simple verb + auxiliary verb)

(638) *o* *hə̃s-ə(e)* *ləg-l-ah*
he(H) laugh-INF feel-PST-(3H)
'He began to laugh.' (infinitive complement + simple verb)

(639) *o* *hə̃s-ə(e)* *cah-əit* *ch-əith*
he(H) laugh-INF want-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'He wants to laugh.' (infinitive complement + simple verb + auxiliary verb)

(640) *o* *hə̃s-əit* *bəj-l-ah*
he(H) laugh-PRESPCPL INF speak-PST-(3H)
'He spoke laughing.' (participle + infinitive + simple verb)

(641) *o* *həĩs-kə(e)* *bəj-l-ah*
he(H) laugh-CP speak-PST-(3H)
'Having laughed, he spoke.' (conjunctive + simple verb)

(642) *o* *həĩs* *de-l-əinh*
he(H) laugh give-PST-(3H)
'He laughed (suddenly).' (compound verb)

(643) *o səb ke hə̃s-a-kə(e) choir*
he(H) all ACC/DAT laugh-CAUS-CP leave
de-l-əinh
give-PST-(3H + 3NH)
'He caused everyone to laugh.' (lit.: 'He left everyone having caused (them) to laugh.') (conjunctive + compound verb)

Sentences [636–637] no doubt contain a sequence of main verb plus an inflected auxiliary verb expressing present tense. But these are examples of "simple" (i.e., noncompound) verb forms. Sentences [638–640] are infinitival constructions wherein both verbs retain their dictionary meaning: in [638], *lag* gives the inceptive reading; in [639], *cah* gives a modal meaning; while [640] contains a present participial infinitive which assigns an adverbial modifier function to the verb *hə̃s*. Sentence [641] is an example of conjunction where the verbs together denote a succession of events. Sentence [642] contains a true example of a compound verb; sentence [643] also contains a true compound verb, but it is preceded by a conjunctive verb. In this section, we will briefly compare compound verbs with other complex verbal sequences.

A compound verb is not a compound or an infinitival verb construction. Neither is it a conjunction. A compound verb may be diagrammatically represented as in Figure 6.1.

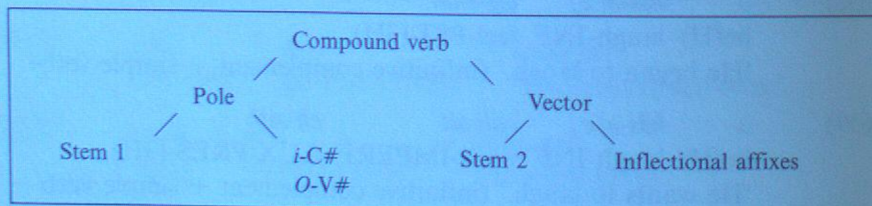


Figure 6.1: Diagrammatical representation of the compound verb

The meaning of a compound verb is determined primarily[27] by the meaning of the polar verb to which a vector verb is formally attached. The vector verb does not retain the autonomous meaning it has when it is used independently as a simple verb; rather it modifies or adds specific nuances to the meaning of the polar verb.

A true compound verb in Maithili differs from other complex verb sequences, especially the conjunctive verb expressions, in one major way. No modifier or complement may intervene between the polar and the vector verb of a compound verb construction; such a constraint does not

apply to a conjunctive verb expression, as will be shown below (cf. Singh 1979 a).

(i) *kə(e)* – insertion

As has been indicated above, the insertion of the conjunctive particles *i-C#/0-V# kə(e)* between the polar and the vector verb distinguishes between a true compound verb and a conjunctive verb:

(644) *o əpən saman dekh le-t-ah*
he(H) REFL luggage see take-FUT-(3H)
'He will watch his luggage.'

(645) *o əpən saman dekh kə le-t-ah*
he(H) REFL luggage see CP take-FUT-(3H)
'He will take his luggage after seeing it.'

(646) *əhã gaṛi me bəis ja-u*
You(H) car in sit go-IMP-(2H)
'Please (you) sit down in the car.'

(647) *əhã gaṛi me bəis kə ja-u*
You(H) car in sit CP go-IMP-(2H)
'Please (you) go seated in the car.'

Sentences [644] and [646] are compound verb expressions, while sentences [645] and [647] are conjunctive verb expressions (for more information on absolutive/conjunctive adverbial clauses see chapter 9.6.3.10).

The fundamental difference, however, lies in the fact that while constituents of a compound verb expression do not undergo what is generally called "movement", the conjunctive constituent can move freely to sentence-initial or to any other position and still yield a grammatical sentence:

(646) *əhã gaṛi me bəis ja-u*
a. **bəis əhã gaṛi me ja-u*
b. **əhã bəis gaṛi me ja-u*
c. **əhã gaṛi me ja-u bəis*

but,

(647) *əhã gaṛi me bəis kə ja-u*
a. *bəis kə əhã gaṛi me ja-u*
b. *əhã bəis kə gaṛi me ja-u*

c. *gaṛi me bəis kə əhã ja-u*
d. *ja-u əhã bəis kə gaṛi me*
e. *ja-u əhã gaṛi me bəis kə*

(ii) Negation insertion

Generally speaking, a compound verb may not be negated; the negative particle *nəi* 'not' may not precede, or be inserted in, a compound verb:

(648) a. *həm kha le-l-əhũ*
I eat take-PST-(1)
'I ate up'
b. **həm nəi kha le-l-əhũ*
I not eat take-PST-(1)
'I didn't eat'
c. **həm kha nəi le-l-əhũ*
I eat not take-PST-(1)
'I didn't eat'
d. *həm nəi khəe-l-əhũ*
I not eat-PST-(1)
'I didn't eat'

(649) a. *o uiṭh ge-l-ah*
he(H) rise go-PST-(3H)
'He woke up.'
b. **o nəi uiṭh ge-l-ah*
he(H) not rise go-PST-(3H)
'He didn't wake up.'
c. **o uiṭh nəi ge-l-ah*
he(H) rise not go-PST-(3H)
'He didn't wake up.'
d. *o nəi uṭh-l-ah*
he(H) not rise-PST-(3H)
'He didn't wake up.'

A conjunctive verb, on the other hand, can be negated; as a matter of fact, both the conjoining verbs may be negated:

(650) a. *həm kha kə ge-l-əhũ*
I eat CP go-PST-(1)
'I went after eating.'

b. *həm nəi kha kə ge-l-əhũ*
I not eat CP go-PST-(1)
'I went without eating.'
c. *həm kha kə nəi ge-l-əhũ*
I eat CP not go-PST-(1)
'I didn't go after eating.'
d. *həm nəi kha kə nəi ge-l-əhũ*
I not eat CP not go-PST-(1)
'I didn't go without eating.'

While it is generally true that a compound verb expression is not negated, there are a few sentence types which allow the occurrence of *nəi* 'not' in a compound verb. These are the following:

(a) Compound verb expressions involving "future imperative" may allow the negative element to intervene in order to convey a special semantics:

(651) a. *kailh kin l-ihəh*
tomorrow buy take-FUT IMP-(2MH)
'Buy (it) tomorrow!'
b. **kailh nəi kin l-ihəh*
tomorrow not buy take-FUT IMP-(2MH)
'Don't buy (it) tomorrow!'
c. *kailh nəi kin-ihəh*
tomorrow not buy-IMP-(2MH)
'Don't buy (it) tomorrow!'
d. *kailh kin nəi l-ihəh*
tomorrow buy not take-FUT IMP-(2MH)
'Lest you buy (it) tomorrow!'

Note that [651 c] is the natural negative (the negative element occurs preverbally in a simple verb construction) of the positive counterpart [651 a]. [651 b] is unacceptable. [651 d] allows the negative element to intervene between the polar and vector verbs in order to express a prohibitive meaning, especially an element of fear or anxiety, shown by the word 'lest' in the English translation.

The same obtains in constructions involving optative mood:

(652) a. *o cəil əb-əith*
he(H) walk come-OPT-(3H)
'May he come!'

b. *o nəi cəil əb-əith
he(H) not walk come-OPT-(3H)
'May he not come!'
c. o nəi əb-əith
he(H) not come-OPT-(3H)
'May he not come!'
d. o cəil nəi əb-əith
he(H) walk not come-OPT-(3H)
'Lest he come!'

Sentence [652 d] expresses fear or anxiety; [652 c] is the natural negative of [652 a]; [652 b] is unacceptable.

(b) A few rhetorical questions, used to reassure and reconfirm rather than ask questions, also allow the negative particle to intervene between the polar and the vector verb:

(653) a. *kha nəi l-əit ch-i?*
eat not take-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Why don't you eat up (after all)?'
b. *uiṭh nəi ja-it ch-i?*
rise not go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Why don't you get up (after all)?'

(iii) Adverb insertion

Compare the following sentences:

(654) a. *o uiṭh ge-l-ah*
he(H) rise go-PST-(3H)
'He arose.'
b. *o jəldi uiṭh ge-l-ah*
he(H) fast rise go-PST-(3H)
'He arose fast.'
c. **o uiṭh jəldi ge-l-ah*
he(H) rise fast go-PST-(3H)
'He arose fast.'
d. *o uiṭh kə jəldi ge-l-ah*
he(H) rise CP fast go-PST-(3H)
'He arose and went fast.'

The above examples demonstrate that an adverb may not intervene between the polar and vector verbs of a compound verb expression, while

it may intervene between a conjunctive verb and thus render a sequential reading to the sentence.

(iv) Verb interrogation

Consider the following sentences:

(655) a. *o kha le-l-əinh*
he(H) eat take-PST-(3H)
'He ate up.'
b. *o ki khəe-l-əinh?*
he(H) what eat-PST-(3H)
'What did he eat?'
c. *o ki kəe-l-əinh?*
he(H) what do-PST-(3H)
'What did he do?'
d. *o ki kə(e) le-l-əinh?*
he(H) what do take-PST-(3H)
'What did he do?'
e. **o ki kha kə(e)-l-əinh?*
f. **o kha ki kə(e)-l-əinh?*

Sentences [655 a–f] show that upon verb interrogation in a Maithili sentence, the following facts obtain:

- the entire compound verb (i.e., both polar and vector verb stems) may be replaced by a dummy verb *kər* 'do';
- the polar verb stem may be replaced by the dummy verb *kər* 'do';
- the vector verb stem may never be replaced by the dummy verb *kər* 'do'.

A conjunctive verb, on the other hand, may allow both the conjoining verbs to be replaced (either in full or in part) by the dummy verb *kər* 'do':

(656) a. *o kha kə le-l-əinh*
he(H) eat CP take-PST-(3H)
'He took (it) after eating.'
b. *o ki kəe-l-əinh?*
he(H) what do-PST-(3H)
'What did he do?'
c. *o ki kə kə le-l-əinh?*
he(H) what do CP take-PST-(3H)
'He took after doing what?'

d. *o ki kha kə le-l-əinh?*
he(H) what eat CP take-PST-(3H)
'He took after eating what?'

e. *o kha kə ki le-l-əinh?*
he(H) eat CP what take-PST-(3H)
'What did he take after eating?'

f. *o kha kə ki kæ-l-əinh?*
he(H) eat CP what do-PST-(3H)
'What did he do after eating?'

and so on. (For more information, see Singh 1979 a.)

Other types of complex verb phrases are also represented diagrammatically below:

Complex verb phrase (infinitival)

	Stem 1	Infinitival ending	Stem 2	Inflectional affixes (finite)
(657)	*kha*	*-əe*	*ja*	*əit ch-i*
	eat	INF	go	IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)

khae/khæ jait chi 'I am going to eat'

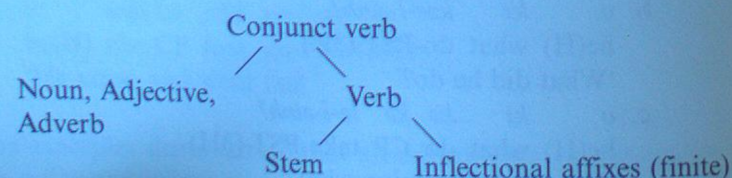
Complex verb phrase (absolutive/conjunctive)

	Stem 1	*-i-C#* *-0-V#*	*kə(e)*	Stem 2	Inflectional affixes (finite)
(658)	*kha*	*0*	*-kə*	*ja*	*-əl-ah*
	eat		CP	go	PST-(3H)

kha kə gelah 'He went after eating/He ate and went/After eating he went/Having eaten he went.'

(659)	*baj*	*-i*	*kə*	*ja*	*-əl-ah*
	speak	stem alternation	CP	go	PST-(3H)

baij kə gelah 'He spoke and went/He went after speaking/After speaking he went/Having spoken he went.'



(660)	*intjam*	*kər*	*-t-ah*
	arrangement	do	FUT-(3H)

'He will arrange'

Conjunct verbs are described in brief in 6.5.2, while infinitival constructions are discussed in 6.9.

6.5.1.2 The vector verb

The seven most frequently used vector verbs are:

le-	'take'
de-	'give'
ja-	'go'
a-	'come'
uṭh-	'rise'
bəiṭh-/bəis-	'sit'
pəṛ-	'lie'

Not all vector verbs may combine with all poles. A selectional restriction seems to obtain between them.

First, *le* 'take' occurs with a verb the action of which is "self-directed" (i.e., the action of the verb is in the interest of the subject/actor), while *de* 'give' occurs with a verb the action of which is "other-directed" (i.e., the action of the verb is in the interest of an individual other than the subject/actor). Thus, for example, verbs of ingestion and perception are usually self-directed and hence accept *le* rather than *de*. The following examples are illustrative:

(661) a. *kha le-l-əinh*
eat take-PST-(3H)
'He ate up'

b. **kha de-l-əinh*
eat give-PST-(3H)

c. *buijh le-l-əinh*
understand take-PST-(3H)
'He understood'

d. **buijh de-l-əinh*
understand give-PST-(3H)

e. *də de-l-əinh*
give give-PST-(3H)
'He did give'

f. **də le-l-əinh*
give take-PST-(3H)
g. *lə le-l-əinh*
take take-PST-(3H)
'He took (definitely)'
h. **lə de-l-əinh*
take give-PST-(3H)

Second, a few transitive polar verbs when combined with *le* and *de* vector verbs allow a bidirectional interpretation; in other words, whether the beneficiary of the action suggested by the verb is the subject/actor or an individual other than the subject/actor will be determined by contextual and/or pragmatic factors:

(662) a. *pəiṛh le-l-əinh*
read take-PST-(3H)
'He read it out (for himself).'
b. *pəiṛh de-l-əinh*
read give-PST-(3H)
'He read it out (for me).'
c. *likh le-t-ah*
write take-FUT-(3H)
'He will write (for his own benefit).'
d. *likh de-t-ah*
write give-FUT-(3H)
'He will write (for you(H)).'

Third, verbs which are intrinsically neither self-directed nor other-directed may not combine with *le* and *de*:

(663) a. **suikh le-l-əinh*
dry take-PST-(3H)
'He dried up.'
b. **suikh de-l-əinh*
dry give-PST-(3H)
c. **bhaig le-l-əinh*
run away take-PST-(3H)
'He ran away.'
d. **bhaig de-l-əinh*
run away give-PST-(3H)

e. **pəhũc le-l-əinh*
arrive take-PST-(3H)
'He arrived.'
f. **pəhũc de-l-ləinh*
arrive give-PST-(3H)

Fourth, vector verbs of motion (i. e., *a* 'come' and *ja* 'go'), when combined with a few polar verbs (usually transitive) yield a sequential reading:

(664) *kha əe-l-ah*
eat come-PST-(3H)
'He ate and came.'

(665) *pəiṛh əe-l-ah*
read come-PST-(3H)
'He read and came.'

(666) *lə əe-l-ah*
bring come-PST-(3H)
'He brought/took and came.'

(667) *kəih ge-l-ah*
say go-PST-(3H)
'He said and went.'

(668) *də ge-l-ah*
give go-PST-(3H)
'He gave and went.'

(669) *lə ge-l-ah*
take go-PST-(3H)
'He took and went.'

Sentences that yield a sequential reading may be thought of as a result of deletion of the absolutive/conjunctive particle *kə(e)*:

(670) *kəih kə ge-l-ah*
say CP go-PST-(3H)
'He went after saying.'

(671) *kha kə ge-l-ah*
eat CP go-PST-(3H)
'He went after eating.'

(672) *pəiṛh kə əe-l-ah*
read CP come-PST-(3H)
'He came after studying.'

(673) *də kə əe-l-ah*
give CP come-PST-(3H)
'He came after giving.'

Finally, the relation of transitive harmony (cf. Dasgupta 1977 for Bengali) does not seem to hold in Maithili compound verbs. In other words, a transitive vector may formally attach to an intransitive pole, and vice versa:

(674) *hə̃s* + *le-l-əinh* → *həĩs leləinh*
laugh take-PST-(3H) 'He(H) laughed (to himself).'
Intr Tr Intr

(675) *bhag* + *ja-l-ah* → *bhaig gelah*
run away go-PST-(3H) 'He(H) ran away quickly.'
Intr Intr Intr

(676) *kha* + *le-l-əinh* → *kha leləinh*
eat take-PST-(3H) 'He(H) ate up'
Tr Tr Tr

(677) *kha* + *ja-l-ah* → *kha gelah*
eat go-PST-(3H) 'He(H) ate up'
Tr Intr Tr

Sentences [674–677] demonstrate that the transitivity of a compound verb is determined by the transitivity of the polar verb. The vector verb loses its class memberhip and is grammaticalized. In other words, the polar verb is more powerful than the vector verb, and the vector verb is grammatically subservient to the polar verb. Below is a detailed description of the vector verbs.

le 'take' occurs with both transitive and intransitive verbs. With transitive verbs, it indicates completion of an act. *le* is usually "self-directed" in meaning; in other words, the subject/actor of the main verb is self-beneficiary in such sentences. With a few intransitive verbs, it expresses attitudinal meaning, modest capacity, etc.:

(678) *həm dəbai kha le-l-əhũ*
I medicine eat-0 take-PST-(1)
'I took the medicine already.'

(679) *o ghər bəṛhair le-l-əinh*
she(H) house sweep-*i* take-PST-(3H)
'She swept the house clean.'

(680) *mən ho-it əich tə həĩs*
mind be-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 1) then laugh-*i*
lə-it ch-i
take-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I laugh when I feel like it.'

(681) *dukh me kain lə-it ch-i*
sorrow in weep-*i* take-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I cry in sorrow.'

(682) *tõ ḍholək bəja lə-it ch-ẽ*
You(NH) drum play-0 take-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2NH)
'You play drum (but probably not so well).'

(683) *həm bā̃suri bəja lə-it ch-i*
I flute play-0 take-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I play flute (but probably not so well).'

Sentences [678–679] express completive meaning. Sentences [680–681] express internal feelings of pathos and sorrow; while sentences [682–683] express modest capability. But they all seem to convey self-benefactive meaning.

de 'give' occurs mostly with transitive verbs, but may also occur with a few expressive/communicative intransitive verbs. With transitive verbs, it indicates that the action is completed and that the beneficiary of the action is an individual other than the subject/actor of the main verb. In other words, it is "other-directed":

(684) *ram həm-ər ciṭṭhi pəiṛh de-l-əinh*
Ram I-GENIT letter read-*i* give-PST-(3H)
'Ram read out my letter (on my behalf).'

(685) *əhā̃ hun-k-ər kaj kə d-iəunh*
You(H) he(H)-GENIT work do-0 give-(2H + 3H)
'Please (you) finish his job (for him).'

(686) *kənek bojha uṭh-a di-ə*
little bundle lift-CAUS I give-IMP-(2H)
'Please (cause me to) lift (my) bundle.'

(687) *həm əhã-k beṭa kẽ əŋreji*
I You(H)-GENIT son ACC/DAT English
pəṛh-a de-l-əhũ
read-CAUS I give-PST-(1)
'I (already) taught your son English.'

(688) *o həm-ra dekh kə həĩs de-l-əinh*
he(H) I-ACC/DAT see-0 CP laugh-*i* give-PST-(3H)
'He looked at me and laughed/He laughed looking at me.'

ja 'go' occurs mostly with intransitive verbs of motion and other "change of state" verbs. With transitive verbs it tends to indicate the process/manner in which the action is completed:

(689) *əhã səbere aib ge-l-əhũ*
You(H) early come-*i* go-PST-(2H)
'You came back early.'

(690) *həbai jəhaj utəir ge-l*
aeroplane land-*i* go-PST-(3NH)
'The aeroplane landed (already).'

(691) *o məir ge-l-ah*
he(H) die-*i* go-PST-(3H)
'He died.'

(692) *o səb miṭhai kha ge-l-ah*
he(H) all sweets eat-0 go-PST-(3H)
'He ate up all the sweets (one at a time).'

(693) *o nəha ge-l-ah*
he(H) bathe-0 go-PST-(3H)
'He was completely drenched.'

(694) *i ghaɔ bəiṭh jae-t/jæ-t*
this wound sit-0 go-FUT-(3NH)
'This wound will (definitely) subside.'

(695) *hun -ka bokhar laig ge-l-əinh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT fever attach-*i* go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He caught fever (all of a sudden).'

(696) *ok-ra nokri bhə jəe-t-əik*
he(H)-ACC/DAT job become-0 go-FUT-(3NH + 3NH)
'He will get a job (eventually).'

(697) *həm-ra bhukh laig ge-l-0*
I-ACC/DAT hunger attach-*i* go-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I became hungry (to my surprise).'

a 'come' occurs only with intransitive verbs of motion:

(698) *gaṛi cəil əb-əit əich*
train move-*i* come-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'The train is coming (in our direction).'

Note one peculiarity of the vector verb *a* 'come' in sentence [698]: it appears that the meaning of the whole compound verb seems closer to the meaning of the vector verb than to that of the polar verb. Note also that the vector verbs *a* 'come' and *ja* 'go' differ in the directionality of action suggested by the main verb. Thus *a* suggests direction toward a focal point, while *ja* suggests direction away from a focal point:

(699) *o bhaig ge-l-ah*
he(H) run away-*i* go-PST-(3H)
'He ran away.'

but,

(700) *o bhaig əe-l-ah*
he(H) run away-*i* come-PST-(3H)
'He ran back.'

uṭh 'rise' occurs with intransitive verbs and suggests suddenness of action:

(701) *o khisia uṭh-l-ah*
he(H) be angry-0 rise-PST-(3H)
'He got angry (all of a sudden).'

(702) *tahi pər həm baij uṭh-l-əhũ*
that on I speak-*i* rise-PST-(1)
'Upon which I spoke'

(703) *o nokər ke mair uṭh-əl-khinh*
he(H) servant ACC/DAT beat-*i* rise-PST-(3H + 3NH)
'He beat the servant (all of a sudden').

bəiṭh ~ bəis 'sit' occurs mostly (though not exclusively) with intransitive verbs. In addition to suddenness of action, usually a sense of impropriety,

undesirability, or even irrevocability of action is implied in such compound verb expressions:

(704) *o ruis bəis-l-ah*
he(H) displease-*i* sit-PST-(3H)
'(Suddenly) he became displeased.'

(705) *həm uiṭh bəis-l-əhũ*
I rise-*i* sit-PST-(1)
'I sat up (with a jerk).'

(706) *o pətni kẽ mair bəis-əl-khinh*
he(H) wife ACC/DAT beat-*i* sit-PST-(3H + 3H)
'He beat his wife (much to his regret).'

pəṛ 'lie' occurs with intransitive verbs and indicates the sense of suddenness:

(707) *o khəis pəṛ-l-ah*
he(H) fall-*i* lie-PST-(3H)
'He fell down (suddenly).'

(708) *həm-ra buijh pəṛ-əl je …*
I-ACC/DAT feel-*i* lie-PST-(3NH + 1) that
'(Suddenly) I felt that …'

(709) *bhag pəṛ-o*
run away-0 lie-IMP-(2NH)
'(You) get out of here'

6.5.2 Conjunct verbs

What follows below is a rather preliminary presentation of conjunct verbs in Maithili, and no claim will be made with regard to the adequacy of the analysis. Conjunct verbs are included for completeness of data.

Conjunct verbs typically consist of nonverbal elements (mostly nouns and adjectives) followed by a rather small set of verbs; usually, these are the verbs *kər* 'do', *de* 'give', *ho* (and its allomorphs) 'become', and *lag* 'attach/feel'. Examples are: *pəsin kərəb* 'to like'; *asirbad deb* 'to bless'; *gərəm hoeb* 'to boil' and *gor lagəb* 'to greet'.

The above conjunct verbs are illustrated below:

(710) a. *əhã ləirki pəsin kəe-l-əhũ?*
You(H) girl liking(N) do-PST-(2H)
'Did you like the girl (i. e. the bride-to-be)?'

b. *o ehi bat kẽ swikar kəe-l-əinh*
he(H) this matter ACC/DAT acceptance(N) do-PST-(3H)
'He admitted it.'

(711) a. *asirbad di-ə*
blessing(N) give-IMP(2H + 1)
'Bless me.'

b. *hun-ka jəld khəbər d-iəunh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT soon news(N) give-IMP(2H + 3H)
'Inform him soon.'

(712) a. *pain gərəm bhə rəhəl əich*
water hot(Adj) become PROG AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'The water is boiling.'

b. *əhã jərməni me gor bhə ge-l-əhũ*
you(H) Germany in fair(Adj) become go-PST-(2H)
'You became fair-complexioned in Germany.'

(713) a. *həm hun-ka gor ləg-əl-iəinh*
I he(H)-ACC/DAT feet(N) attach-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I greeted him.' (Lit.: 'I touched his feet.')

b. *əhã həm-ra nik ləg-əit*
you(H) I-ACC/DAT good(Adj) feel-IMPERF
ch-i-0
AUX-PRES-(2H + 1)
'I like you.' (Lit.: 'You look good to me.')

6.6 Passive verb

A passive verb in Maithili is derived through a highly productive morphological process involving a series of morphological modifications in the verb phrase of an active sentence. Both transitive and intransitive verbs may passivize in Maithili.

There are two types of passive verb forms in Maithili: (i) the "inflectional" (or strict morphological) passive, which is formed by suffixing *-a* to the nonpassive main verb stem followed by an appropriate desinence; and (ii) the "periphrastic" passive, which is formed by suffixing the past participle *-əl* to the nonpassive main verb stem followed by a passive

auxiliary verb of motion *ja* 'go' and followed by an appropriate desinence. The subject/agent of the active sentence (henceforth the ex-subject) is marked by the instrumental postposition *sə/sə̃*. The morphological modifications that characterize the passive verb formation in Maithili are summarized as follows:

Main verb → Main verb + PSTPCPL *-əl* + a passive auxiliary verb of motion *ja* 'go' (periphrastic passive)
Main verb → Main verb + *-a* (inflectional passive)
Agreement affixes change in order to reflect derived grammatical relations.

A few examples are given below for illustration:

(714) a. *həm hə̃s-əit ch-i* (active)
I laugh-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I laugh.'
b. *həm-ra sə nəi hə̃s-a-it*
I-ACC/DAT by not laugh-PASS-IMPERF
əich (inflectional passive)
AUX-PRES-(3NH + 1)
'I am not able to laugh (I just can't).' (lit.: 'It is not laughed by me.')
c. *həm-ra sə nəi hə̃s-əl ja-it*
I-ACC/DAT by not laugh-PSTPCPL go-IMPERF
əich (periphrastic passive)
AUX-PRES-(3NH + 1)
'I am not able to laugh (it is inopportune to do so).' (lit.: 'It is not laughed by me.')

(715) a. *ram kitab pəṛh-l-əinh* (active)
Ram book read-PST-(3H)
'Ram read a/the book.'
b. *ram sə kitab nəi pəṛh-ae-l-əinh*
Ram by book not read-PASS-PST-(3H)
(inflectional passive)
'Ram could not read the book (he was unable to).' (lit.: 'The book was not read by Ram.')
c. *ram sə kitab nəi pəṛh-əl ge-l-əinh*
Ram by book not read-PSTPCPL go-PST-(3H)
(periphrastic passive)
'Ram could not read the book (the story was too sad).' (lit.: 'The book could not be read by Ram.')

(716) a. *ram kitab kin-l-əith* (active)
Ram book buy-PST-(3H)
'Ram bought a/the book'
b. *kitab kin-ae-l* (agentless inflectional passive)
book buy-PASS-PST-(3NH)
'The book was bought.'/*'The book could be bought.'
c. *kitab nəi kin-əl ge-l*
book not buy-PSTPCPL go-PST-(3NH)
(agentless periphrastic passive)
'The book was not bought.'/*'The book could not be bought.'

(717) a. *həm hun-ka piṭ-b-əinh* (active)
I he(H)-ACC/DAT beat-FUT-(1 + 3H)
'I will beat him.'
b. *o piṭ-əe-t-ah* (agentless inflectional passive)
he(H) beat-PASS-FUT-(3H)
'He will be beaten.'/*'He could be beaten.'
c. *o piṭ-əl jəe-t-ah* (agentless periphrastic passive)
he(H) beat-PSTPCPL go-FUT-(3H)
'He will be beaten.'/*'He could be beaten.'

Note that the (usually, but not necessarily, negative) passive sentences in [714–715] convey a capabilitative meaning, while the passive sentences [716–717] convey a passive meaning. In general, if the ex-subject (agent) is present, the passive sentence conveys a capabilitative meaning (i. e., it conveys that the agent is able to carry out the act suggested by the verb). On the other hand, a straightforward passive meaning is conveyed when the ex-subject is optionally deleted in the passive sentence; in such an instance, the capabilitative meaning is blocked (for more information see chapter 9.4.2).

Two more observations need to be made here. (1) Stative and inchoative verbs (e. g., *ch-* 'to be', *ho* 'to be', *ho* 'to become', etc.) do not passivize in Maithili:

(718) a. *həm bimar ch-i* (active)
I ill be-PRES-(1)
'I am ill.'
b. *həm-ra sə bimar *bhe-ae-l*
I-ACC/DAT by ill become-PASS-PST
(inflectional passive)
*'It was become ill by me.'

c. *həm-ra sə bimar *bhe-l ge-l*
I-ACC/DAT by ill become-PSTPCPL go-PST
(periphrastic passive)
*'It was become ill by me.'

(2) A number of verbs (e. g., *kər* 'do', *həṭ* 'get removed', *bən* 'become', etc.) do not yield agentless inflectional passive forms – these are usually verbs the causative of which is derived through transitivization (but with a causative meaning):

(719) a. *kam *kər-ae-l*
work do-PASS-PST(3NH)
'The work was done.'
b. *sətrənji *həṭ-ae-l*
carpet move-PASS-PST-(3NH)
'The carpet was removed.'
c. *hakim nəi *bən-ae-l-ah*
officer not become-PASS-PST-(3H)
'He was not made an officer.'

and so on.

More will be said about the syntax and semantics of passive constructions in chapter 9.4.

6.7 Modal verb

Here is a set of verbs which are used as modals in Maithili:

sək-əb 'to be able to'
pa-eb 'to find/to be able to'
pəṛ-əb 'to lie/to be forced to'
cuk-əb 'to fail/to complete'
de-əb 'to give/to allow'
cah-əb 'to want'

All of the above verbs occur as main verbs in simple or compound verb expressions:

(720) *həm sək-əbĩ səik ja-eb*
I can-FUT-(1) can-*i* go-FUT-(1)
'I will be able to'

(721) *əhã pae-l-əhũĩ paib le-l-əhũ*
You(H) find-PST-(2H) find-*i* take-PST-(2H)
'You found/received'

(722) *tõ bimar pəṛ-l-el pəir ge-l-e*
You(NH) ill lie-PST-(2NH) lie-*i* go-PST-(2NH)
'You fell ill'

(723) *əhã cuk-l-əhũĩ cuik ge-l-əhũ*
You(H) fail-PST-(2H) fail-*i* go-PST-(2H)
'You failed'

(724) *həm de-l-əhũĩ də de-l-əhũ*
I give-PST-(1) give give-PST-(1)
'I gave'

(725) *həm cah-əit ch-iĩ *cahi d-əit*
I want-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1) want-*i* give-IMPERF
ch-i
AUX-PRES-(1)
'I want'

Example [725] shows that of the six verbs listed above, *cah* 'to want' does not permit a vector verb to combine with it.

A modal verb in Maithili may be distinguished from other verbs in the following ways:

(i) Modals are usually mutually exclusive of each other:

(726) **o sək-əit cah-t-ah*
he(H) MOD-IMPERF MOD-FUT-(3H)

(727) **tõ pa sək-l-e*
You(NH) MOD MOD-PST-(2NH)

(728) **əhã cah-ne sək-i*
You(H) MOD-PERF MOD-PRES-(2H)

(ii) Modals are mutually exclusive with the imperative:

(729) **cah-0*
want-IMP-(2NH)
*'Want!'

(730) **kud sək-0*
jump can-IMP-(2NH)
*'Can jump!'

(731) *cuk-u
fail-IMP-(2H)
*'Fail!'

(iii) All modals occur in infinitival constructions:

(732) *həm ja-e cah-əit ch-i*
I go-INF want-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I want to go.'

(733) *to-ra kər-ə*
You(NH)-ACC/DAT do-INF
pəṛ-t-əuk
lie(MOD)-FUT-(3NH + 2NH)
'You will be forced to do it.'

and so on.

Below is given a brief description of the above-mentioned six verbs as modals.

sək-əb indicates capability:

(734) *həm i nədi hel-ə sək-əit ch-i*
I this river swim-INF can-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I can/am able to swim this river.'

(735) *tõ əi gach pər cəiṛh ja-(e) sək-əit*
You(NH) this tree on climb-*i* go-INF can-IMPERF
ch-e
AUX-PRES-(2NH)
'You can/are able to climb (on) this tree.'

(736) *əhã əi bilai ke pois li-ə*
You(H) this cat ACC/DAT bring up-*i* take-INF
sək-əb
can-FUT-(2H)
'You will be able to bring up this cat.'

pa-eb also indicates capability, but is more often used in negative constructions:

(737) *aikailh əhã nəi ja-(e) pəb-əit*
these days you(H) not go-INF can-IMPERF
ch-i
AUX-PRES-(2H)
'These days you are not able to go.'

(738) *əi ber həm jənəkpur nəi ab-ə(e) pəe-l-əhũ*
this time I Janakpur not come-INF can-PST-(1)
'This time I was not able to come to Janakpur.'

(739) *sal me ek-e ber gam ab-ə(e)*
year in one-EMPH time village come-INF
pəb-əit ch-i
can-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I manage to come home only once in a year.'

Although both *sək* and *pa* indicate capability, they suggest slightly different meanings. Sentences [734–736] indicate both possibility and capability – there is no explicit avowal of effort on the part of the agent to perform the action in these sentences. Sentences [737–739], on the other hand, suggest an extra effort on the part of the agent to perform the action indicated by the main verb. Consequently, [740] is semantically odd:

(740) *??? o ənayas kaṭhmandu sə ab-ə(e)*
he(H) effortlessly Kathmandu from come-INF
pə-l-əith
can-PST-(3H)
'He managed to come from Kathmandu effortlessly.'

pəṛ-əb indicates external pressure or compulsion:

(741) *hun-ka ai-o əphis ja-e*
he(H)-ACC/DAT today-EMPH office go-INF
pəṛ-t-əinh
lie(MOD)-FUT-(3NH + 3H)
'He will have to go to the office even today.'

(742) *əhã ke i khoa kha-e*
You(H) ACC/DAT this milk cream eat-INF
pəṛ-ət-0
lie(MOD)-FUT-(3NH + 2H)
'You will have to eat this milk cream.'

(743) *to-ra akhir ja-e*
You(NH)-ACC/DAT last go-INF
pəṛ-l-əuk
lie(MOD)-PST-(3NH + 2NH)
'At last you had to go.'

cuk-əb indicates completion of an act:

(744) *o kha-(e) cuk-l-ah*
he(H) eat-INF finish-PST-(3H)
'He finished eating.'

(745) *tõ bərabər ehən gəlti kə(e) cuk-əit*
You(NH) always such error do-INF finish-IMPERF
ch-e
AUX-PRES-(2NH)
'You end up making such errors regularly.'

(746) *o kailh əmerika pəhũc cuk-əl*
he(H) yesterday America reach finish-PSTPCPL
hoe-t-ah
become-FUT-(3H)
'He would have arrived in America yesterday.'

de-əb indicates permission:

(747) *hun-ka ja-e di-əunh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT go-INF allow-IMP-(2H + 3H)
'Allow him to go'

(748) *o həm-ra əpən koṭ pəhir-ə*
he(H) I-ACC/DAT REFL coat wear-INF
de-l-əinh
allow-PST-(3H + 1)
'He allowed me to wear his coat.'

(749) *(tõ) ab-ə də-hi(k)*
You(NH) come-INF allow-IMP-(2NH + 3NH)
'Allow him to come/Let him come.'

cah-əb indicates wish and desire:

(750) *tõ kəlkətta ja-e cah-əit*
You(NH) Calcutta go-INF want-IMPERF
ch-e
AUX-PRES-(2NH)
'You want to go to Calcutta.'

(751) *o nikl-ə(e) cah-l-əith*
he(H) escape-INF want-PST-(3H)
'He wanted to escape.'

(752) *u pəṛh-ə cah-ət*
he(NH) read-INF want-FUT-(3NH)
'He would want to study.'

6.8 Auxiliaries as main verbs

In 6.2.3 above the auxiliary verbs have been treated as helping verbs, i. e., as elements that carry tense and appropriate inflectional affixes. In this section, a brief discussion of auxiliaries as main verbs will be presented. A bewildering number of perhaps diachronically related but synchronically distinct alternants exist, and these need to be differentiated from one another in terms of their precise distributional properties.

The auxiliary verbs under discussion are three in number. They are:

(i)	*ch-*	'to be'	(stative)
(ii)	*ho-*	'to be'	(stative)
(iii)	*ho-*	'to become'	(nonstative)

6.8.1 *ch-* 'to be'

When used as a stative main verb, *ch-* 'to be' has a large number of suppletive stem alternants, as shown below:

ch-	*ch-*	Present tense
	əich	
	thik	
	h-	
	ch-	Past tense
	rəh-	
	ho-[28]	Future tense
	rəh-[29]	

One peculiarity of *ch-* and its suppletive alternants is that no aspect markers (followed automatically by an auxiliary verb) can be attached to them:

(753) **ch-əit ch-i*
be-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)

(754) **ho-neləl ch-əl*
be-PERF AUX-PST-(3NH)

Another peculiarity of *ch-* 'to be' as a main verb is that it cannot act as a polar verb to join with a vector verb in a compound verb expression:

(755) **həm chə ge-l-i*
I be go-PST-(1)

(756) **tõ chə ja-it ch-e*
You(NH) be go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2NH)

6.8.1.1 *ch-* 'to be' and its alternants

Of the eight alternants listed above, *ch*-forms are quite regular and systematic in their distribution. They are used in present and past tense forms – both honorific and nonhonorific. A brief discussion of all the eight alternants is given below.

ch- 'be': *ch-* occurs with 1, 2 and 3(H) noun phrases in present and past tense forms:

(757) *həm ch-i*
I be-PRES-(1)
'I am.'

(758) *əhã ch-əl-əhũ*
You(H) be-PST-(2H)
'You were.'

(759) *ke ch-əl-ah?*
who(H) be-PST-(3H)
'Who was (he)?'

(760) *tõ ke ch-e?*
You(NH) who be-PRES-(2NH)
'Who are you?'

əich 'is': *əich* is defective in its distribution. It occurs with:

(i) third person nonhonorific subjects:

(761) *o bimar əich*
he(NH) ill be-PRES-(3NH)
'He is ill.'

(762) *o ke əich?*
he(NH) who be-PRES-(3NH)
'Who is he?'

(ii) first and second person honorific "dative" subject constructions (which are treated as having a 3NH dummy subject):

(763) *həm-ra dhən əich-0*
I-ACC/DAT wealth be-PRES-(3NH + 1)
'I have wealth.'

(764) *əhã ke rog əich-0*
You(H) ACC/DAT disease be-PRES-(3NH + 2H)
'You are ill/You have a disease.'

(iii) third person nonhonorific demonstrative pronominal subjects occurring with 1, 2H and 3NH possessive modifiers:

(765) *i həm-ər əich*
this I-GENIT be-PRES-(3NH)
'This is mine.'

(766) *u əhã-k əich*
that you(H)-GENIT be-PRES-(3NH)
'That is yours.'

(767) *i kək-ər əich/ch-əik?*
this who(NH)-GENIT be-PRES-(3NH)
'Whose is this?'

thik 'is': *thik*, a characteristic of the Brahmanic speech, is a full form of the verb 'to be' in Maithili. In affected styles, *thik* is optionally used as a copula in present-tense forms. However, it is a highly marked form, and its use is on the decline now; *thik* is systematically replaced by *əich* and *ch-* in all educated styles of speech:

(768) *i ki thik/əich?*
this what be-PRES-(3NH)
'What is this?'

(769) *i pustək thik/əich*
this book be-PRES-(3NH)
'This is a book.'

(770) *o ke thik-ah ~ əith/ch-əith?*
he(H) who be-PRES-(3H)
'Who is he?'

(771) *o prophesər thik-ah ~ əith/ch-əith*
he(H) professor be-PRES-(3H)
'He is a professor.'

(772) *nepal-ək rajdhani Kaṭhmandu*
Nepal-GENIT capital Kathmandu
thik/əich/ch-əik
be-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'Kathmandu is the capital of Nepal.'

Since *thik* is a full verbal form, all primary and secondary agreement affixes may be attached to it. However, as remarked above, these forms are highly marked – both castewise and stylewise:

(773) *tõ hun-k-ər ke thik-hunh/ch-əhunh?*
You(NH) he(H)-GENIT who be-PRES-(2NH + 3H)
'What are you to him?' (i.e., 'How are you related to him?')

(774) *əhã ok-ər ke thik-iəik/ch-iəik?*
You(H) he(NH)-GENIT who be-PRES-(2H + 3NH)
'What are you to him?'

h- 'is': in contrast to the *thik*-forms, in rural and uneducated styles *h*-forms are quite commonly used in place of *əich* with 3NH personal or demonstrative pronoun noun phrases:

(775) *i kəthi h-əi?*
this what be-PRES-(3NH)
'What is this?'

(776) *u ke h-əi?*
he/that who be-PRES-(3NH)
'Who is he/that?'

(777) *u h-əi*
he(NH) be-PRES-(3NH)
'He is.'

(778) *i kitab h-əi*
this book be-PRES-(3NH)
'This is a book.'

rəh- 'was': *rəh-* occurs in rural and uneducated styles as the past form of *ch-* (or of *h-*, to be more exact):

(779) *həm rəh-i*
I be-PST-(1)
'I was.'

(780) *ə-hũ rəh-i*
You(H)-EMPH be-PST-(2H)
'You too were.'

(781) *o rəh-əith*
he(H) be-PST-(3H)
'He was (there).'

(782) a. *u rəh-əi(k)*
he(NH) be-PST-(3NH)
'He was (there).'

b. *ek-ṭa raja rəh-əi(k)*
one-CLAS king be-PST-(3NH)
'Once there was a king.'

ho and *rəh* 'will be': *ho* and *rəh* are the future forms of *ch-* 'to be' and are used in all styles in all persons, followed by appropriate agreement affixes:

(783) *həm hoe-b/rəh-əb*
I be-FUT-(1)
'I will be.'

(784) *tõ hoe-b-əh/rəh-b-əh*
You(MH) be-FUT-(2MH)
'You will be.'

(785) *o hoe-t-ah/rəh-t-ah*
he(H) be-FUT-(3H)
'He will be.'

6.8.1.2 *ch-* 'to be' as a copula

When used as a main verb, *ch-* 'to be' links, as a copula, a subject and a predicate nominal or adjective:

(786) *bhəgban nəmhər ch-əthinh/ch-əith*
God big be-PRES-(3H)
'God is great.'

(787) *nepal-ək raja dəyalu ch-əthinh*
Nepal-GENIT king kind be-PRES-(3H + 3NH)
'The King of Nepal is kind.'

Only simple existential constructions, used in highly specialized circumstances to assert the existence of a being or thing, use the complementless *ch*-verb:

(788) *bhəgban ch-əith*
God be-PRES-(3H)
'God is/exists.'

(789) *pap ch-əik*
sin be-PRES-(3NH)
'Sin is/exists.'

Constructions used as brief replies to questions also have complementless copula verbs:

(790) *həm ch-i*
I be-PRES-(1)
'I am.' (in response to *ke əich*? 'Who is (there)?')

Note that even the question form is complementless. It may be argued, however, that both the question and the reply forms above are truncated forms of such full forms as *i ke əich*? 'Who is this/he/she?' and *i həm chi* 'This is I'.

Different types of existential, equational, and possessive constructions make use of the verb *ch*:

(i) Temporal existential:

(791) *ai səin ch-əi(k)*
today Saturday be-PRES-(3NH)
'Today is Saturday.'

(792) *bhoj sãjh me hoe-t-əi(k)*
feast evening in be-FUT-(3NH)
'The feast will be in the evening.'

(ii) Locative existential:

(793) *ḍol me pain ch-əl*
bucket in water be-PST-(3NH)
'There was water in the bucket.'

(794) *ṭebul pər kitab əich*
table on book be-PRES-(3NH)
'There is a book on the table.'

(795) *həm etə ch-əl-əhũ*
I here be-PST-(1)
'I was here.'

(iii) Equational:

(796) *ram masṭər ch-əith*
Ram teacher be-PRES-(3H)
'Ram is a teacher.'

(797) *babu prophesər ch-əl-ah*
father professor be-PST-(3H)
'Father was a professor.'

(798) *i nokər əich*
this/he(NH) servant be-PRES-(3NH)
'He is a servant.'

(iv) Predicative adjective equational:

(799) *nokər budhiyar əich*
servant wise be-PRES-(3NH)
'The servant is wise.'

(800) *əhã nik ch-i*
You(H) good be-PRES-(2H)
'You are good.'

(v) Alienable possession:

(801) *hun-ka du-ṭa ghoṛa ch-əinh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT two-CLAS horse be-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
'He has two horses.'

(802) *əhã ke bəhut kitab əich*
You(H) ACC/DAT many book be-PRES-(3NH + 2H)
'You have many books.'

(803) *i həm-ər ghər əich*
this I-GENIT house be-PRES-(3NH + 1)
'This is my house.'

(vi) Inalienable possession:

(804) *hun-ka du-ṭa beṭi*
he(H)-ACC/DAT two-CLAS daughter
ch-əinh
be-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
'He has two daughters'

(805) *əhã-k hath choṭ əich*
You(H)-GENIT hand small be-PRES-(3NH + 2H)
'Your hands are small.'

(806) *ok-ər kes ujjər ch-əik*
he(NH)-GENIT hair white be-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'His hair is white.'

(vii) Psychosomatic possession ("Dative" subject constructions):

(807) *hun-ka dukh ch-əinh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT sorrow be-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
'He is sad (He has sorrow).'

(808) *to-ra utsah ch-əuk*
You(NH)-ACC/DAT energy be-PRES-(3NH + 2NH)
'You are energetic (You have energy).'

(809) *həm-ra khusi əich*
I-ACC/DAT happiness be-PRES-(3NH + 1)
'I am happy (I have happiness).'

6.8.2 *ho-* 'to be' as a stative main verb

ho- 'to be' is a highly idiosyncratic stative verb. When combined with the imperfective aspect marker *-əit*, it conveys a number of different meanings. Note that upon addition of an aspectual marker, an auxiliary verb will automatically follow:

(i) Generic:

(810) *gai ke naŋəir ho-it*
cow ACC/DAT tail be-IMPERF
ch-əik
AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'A cow has a tail'

(811) *ek ḍolər me sәe sent ho-it*
one dollar in hundred cent be-IMPERF
ch-əik
AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'There are a hundred cents in a dollar.'

(ii) Process:

(812) *rəih rəih kə bərkha ho-it*
remain REDUPL after rain be-IMPERF
əich
be-PRES-(3NH)
'It rains off and on.'

(iii) Iterative:

(813) *hun-ka khali beṭi-e ho-it*
he(H)-ACC/DAT only daughter-EMPH be-IMPERF
ch-əinh
AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
'Only daughters are born to him.'

What is of interest is that in some expressions having to do with kinship relations, *ho-* followed by future tense markers expresses the meaning of the present tense:

(814) *həm əhã ke bəhinoi hoe-b-0*
I you(H) ACC/DAT sister's husband be-FUT-(1 + 2H)
'I am your brother-in-law.'

(815) *əhã hun-ka sar hoe-b-əinh*
You(H) he(H)-ACC/DAT wife's brother be-FUT-(2H + 3H)
'You are his brother-in-law.'

(816) *o əhã ke jəmae*
he(H) you(H) ACC/DAT daughter's husband
hoe-t-ah-0
be-FUT-(3H + 2H)
'He is your son-in-law.'

It should be noted that the stative verb *ho-* 'to be', although a full verb in its own right, cannot join with a vector verb to form a compound verb expression:

(817) *gai ke naŋər ho-it ge-l-əik
cow ACC/DAT tail be-IMPERF go-PST-(3NH + 3NH)

6.8.3 *ho-* 'to become' as a nonstative main verb

ho- 'to become' is a nonstative full verb. As a full verb, *ho-* can take an obligatory aspect marker followed by an auxiliary verb to carry tense and other inflectional affixes. *ho-* as a full verb can also act as a polar verb and join with a vector *ja* 'go' in a compound verb expression. These features markedly differentiate the nonstative *ho-* 'to become' from the stative *ho-* 'to be' on the one hand and from *ch-* 'to be' and its alternants on the other.

ho- 'to become' has two alternants: *ho-* and *bh-*. As an inchoative verb, *ho-* occurs in compound verb expressions and is always followed by the present participle *-əit* in order to convey the process of gradual change:

(818) *o bərabər bəṛahakim ho-it*
he(H) always commissioner become-PRESPCPL
rəh-əit ch-əith
remain-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'He keeps on becoming a Commissioner regularly.'

(819) *beṭa rəserəse nəmhər ho-it ja-it*
son slowly big become-PRESPCPL go-IMPERF
əich
AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'The son is getting taller day by day.'

(820) *o dhənik ho-it ge-l-ah*
he(H) rich become-PRESPCPL go-PST-(3H)
'He went on getting rich.'

(821) *əhã jəldi-e nik ho-it*
You(H) soon-EMPH good become-PRESPCPL
jae-b
go-FUT-(2H)
'You will go on getting well soon.'

bh-forms are more commonly (though not exclusively) used in compound verb expressions:

(822) *əhã bərabər bimar bhə ja-it*
You(H) always ill become go-IMPERF
ch-i
AUX-PRES-(2H)
'You become ill regularly.'

(823) *o aikailh budhiyar bhə ge-l*
he(H) these days wise become go-PERF
ch-əith
AUX-PRES-(3H)
'These days he has become wiser.'

(824) *bərkha bhə rəhəl əich*
rain become PROG AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'It is raining (It has been raining).'

(825) *o hakim bhə ge-l-ah*
he(H) officer become go-PST-(3H)
'He became an officer.'

(826) *hun-k-ər promosən bhə jəe-t-əinh*
he(H)-GENIT promotion become go-FUT-(3NH + 3H)
'He will be promoted (in due course).'

6.9 Non-finite forms

This section has been labelled "non-finite forms" in order to include discussions on both infinitives and participles.

6.9.1 The infinitive verb

Two kinds of infinitive verb may be recognized in Maithili: (i) the "bare" infinitive (i. e., the infinitive which translates as constructions without *to* in English) and (ii) the "full" infinitive (i. e., the infinitive which translates as constructions with *to* in English).

As has been indicated in 6.2.1 above, the "full" infinitive form of the Maithili verb ends in *-eb* if the verb stem ends in *a* or *o*, and in *-əb* everywhere else. The "full" infinitive verb may instead end in *-nai* (corre-

sponding probably to Hindi *-na*, e. g., Hindi *ṭəhəlna* 'to walk', Maithili *ṭəhəlnai* 'to walk').

The "full" infinitive constructions in Maithili differ from those in English in an important manner. Thus, an infinitive construction such as 'It is illegal for John to leave' can only be realized in the form of a gerundial (see below) construction in Maithili:

(827) *jɔn-ək* *ja-eb* *gəerkanuni* *əich*
ge-nai
John-GENIT go-INF illegal be-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'John's going is illegal/It is illegal for John to go.'

In addition to gerundial "full" infinitives, participal "full" infinitives ending in *-əit* and *-əl* also exist in Maithili (see 6.9.3.2).

The "bare" infinitives do not end in *-əb, eb, -nai, əit*, or *-əl*; instead, they are formed by the addition of *-əe-*[30] followed by *bak lel/baste, ke, bak, me, ba me, bəla*, or *la pər*, and so on – the exact choice of which will depend on the syllabic structure of the verb stem, the nature of the following finite verb, and/or the specific types of sentence construction. Thus the "bare" infinitives may not be bare after all.

It should be noted that a host of complex morphophonological changes take place in the formation of both bare and full infinitival forms in Maithili. These will be noted in the appropriate places.

Note also that infinitives in Maithili precede the finite verbs in normal utterances.

6.9.2 The "bare" infinitive

The bare infinitives differ distributionally from the full infinitives in one special way. Unlike the full infinitives, the bare infinitives are never used as nominals and modifiers/determiners. Thus the following [b] constructions are ungrammatical:

(828) a. *dəur-əb* *nik* *byayam*
run-INF good exercise
b. **dəur-əe* *nik* *byayam*
run-INF good exercise
'To run is a good exercise.'

(829) a. *dəur-əit* *ghoṛa*
run-PRESPCPL horse

b. **dəur-əe* *ghoṛa*
run-INF horse
'The running horse.'

(830) a. *o* *hə̃s-əit* *bəj-l-ah*
he(H) laugh-PRESPCPL speak-PST-(3H)
b. **o* *hə̃s-əe* *bəj-l-ah*
he(H) laugh-INF speak-PST-(3H)
'He spoke laughing.'

(831) a. *kəm* *kha-eb* *nik*
less eat-INF good
b. **kəm* *kha-əe* *nik*
less eat-INF good
'It is good to eat less.'

The bare infinitival constructions may form a class by themselves; they are quite heterogeneous in character within the class itself. Different types of bare infinitival constructions which are in complementary distribution with each other may be said to exist in Maithili:

Type 1:
(i) Stem + *-əe-(lel)* + "finite verb" where the verb is usually a verb of motion, such as *a* 'come', *ja* 'go', *kəh* 'say', etc.
(ii) Stem + *-əe-bak-lel* + "finite verb" if the stem ends in *a* or *o*.
(iii) Stem + *-0-bak-lel* + "finite" verb" everywhere else.

Examples:

(832) *o* *sinema* *dekh-əe* *(lel)* *ge-l-ah*
dekh-bak *lel*
**dekh-əe-bak lel*
he(H) cinema see-INF for go-PST-(3H)
'He went to see a movie.'

(833) *hun-ka* *kha-e* *lel* *kəh-iəunh*
khə-e-bak *lel*
**khə-bak* *lel*
**kha-bak* *lel*
he(H)-ACC/DAT eat-INF for say-IMP-(2H + 3H)
'(Please) ask him to eat.'

(834) *jumrati* *səb din* *daru*
Jumrati every day wine

pi-əe (lel) bəjar ja-it əich
pi-bak lel
*pi-əe-bak lel
drink-INF for market go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'Jumrati goes to market daily to drink/for drinking wine.'

There is an abundance of variation in the use of these forms. Unfortunately, no sociolinguistic analysis showing correlation between social variation and linguistic form has been carried out yet. It seems to me, though, that the infinitive forms having *bak lel* or *ba me*, etc., are most typical of the Brahman caste speech (or the educated literary speech). Compare the following data:

(835) a. əhã kha-e lel/khæ lel əi-l-iləe-l-əhũ
You(H) eat-INF for come-PST-(2H)
(nonbrahmanic)

b. əhã khə-e-bak lel əe-l-əhũ (brahmanic)
You(H) eat-INF for come-PST-(2H)
'You came to eat.'

(836) a. otə ja-eljæ me kon hərja? (nonbrahmanic)
there go-INF in what harm
b. otə(e) jə-e-ba me kon hərj? (brahmanic)
there go-INF in what harm
'What is the harm in going there?'

Type 2:
(i) Stem + *-əe-ke* + "finite auxiliary"
(iia) Stem + *-əe-bak* + "finite auxiliary" if the stem ends in *a* or *o*
(iib) Stem + *-0-bak* + "finite auxiliary" everywhere else.

With "dative" subjects (which may be "understood" but are retrievable by the verbal endings), the infinitival constructions of Type 2 denote obligation, necessity, compulsion, etc.:

(837) həm-ra ja-e-ke əich
jə-e-bak
*ja-bak
*jə-bak
I-ACC/DAT go-INF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 1)
'I have to go.'

(838) to-ra pəṛh-ə(e) ke
pəṛh-bak
*pəṛh-əe-bak
You(NH)-ACC/DAT read-INF
ch-əuk
AUX-PRES-(3NH + 2NH)
'You have to study.'

(839) hun-ka le-bak mən ch-əinh
li-ə-ke
*li-ə-bak
*li-əe-bak
*li-bak
he(H)-ACC/DAT take-INF mind AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
'He wants to take/He has a mind to take.'

Type 3:
(i) Stem + *-əe-me* + adjective
(iia) Stem + *əe-ba-me* + adjective if the stem ends in *a* or *o*
(iib) Stem + *-0-ba-me* + adjective everywhere else.

Examples:

(840) am kha-e-me nik lag-əl-0
khə-e-ba-me
*khə-ba-me
*kha-ba-me
mango eat-INF-in good feel-PST-(3NH + 1/2H)
'Mango was sweet to eat (to me/you).'

(841) pəisa di-ə-me nik nəi ləg-əit
de-ba-me
*di-əe-ba-me
*diə-ba-me
money give-INF-in good not feel-IMPERF
ch-əuk
AUX-PRES-(3NH + 2NH)
'You don't like to give money.'

(842) i kitab pəṛh-ə(e)-me sugəm əich
pəṛh-ba-me
*pəṛh-ə(e)-ba-me
*pəṛhə-ba-me
this book read-INF-in easy be-PRES-(3NH)
'This book is easy to read.'

Type 4:
Stem + *-əe-bəla* + “finite auxiliary”

Examples:

(843) tõ li-ə(e)-bəla rəh-e
You(NH) take-INF-about AUX-PST-(2NH)
‘You were about to take.’

(844) həm ja-e-bəla ch-əl-əhũ
I go-INF-about AUX-PST-(1)
‘I was about to go’

(845) əhã pəṛh-ə(e)-bəla rəh-it-əhũ təkhən
You(H) read-INF-about AUX-PST-COND-(2H) then
ne …
NONNEG,EMPH
‘If you were about to study then only …’

It should be mentioned that most such ‘about to’ infinitives are built upon action verbs like ‘come’, ‘go’, ‘take’, ‘rise’, ‘read’, ‘eat’, etc. These sentences naturally convey a sense of possibility.

Type 5:
Stem + *-əe* + “finite modal verb”

Examples:

(846) həm-hũ hun-ka bheṭ-əe cah-əb
*bheṭ-bak
I-EMPH he(H)-ACC/DAT meet-INF want-FUT-(1)
‘I too would want to meet him.’

(847) əhã i kaj kə-e sək-əit
*kər-bak
*kəe-bak
*kə-bak
You(H) this work do-INF can-IMPERF
ch-i
AUX-PRES-(2H)
‘You can do this work.’

Note that in order to express obligation or necessity (esp. the notion of ‘ought to’), the Type 2 infinitival structure is used with a finite auxiliary verb *cah-əb* ‘to want’:

(848) həm-ra ab jae-(ke) cah-i
jə-e-bak
*jə-e-(ke)
*ja-bak
*jə-bak
I-ACC/DAT now go-INF want-OPT-(1)
‘I ought to go now.’

(849) hun-ka sən moṭ admi ke dəur-əe-(ke)
*dəur-əe-bak
he(H)-ACC/DAT like fat man ACC/DAT run-INF
cah-i
want-OPT-(3H)
‘A man as fat as him ought to run.’

(850) i khet li-ə-(ke) cah-i
le-bak
*li-ə-bak
*li-əe-bak
*li-bak
this field take-INF want-OPT-(1)
‘I should/ought to take/buy this land.’

Type 6:
(i) Stem + *-əe-la-pər/sə̃* … + “finite verb” if the stem ends in *a* or *o*.
(ii) Stem + *-0-la-pər/sə̃* … elsewhere.

Examples:

(851) əmerika əe-la pər khusi bhe-l-0
America come-INF at happiness become-PST-(3NH + 1)
‘I was pleased to come/after coming to America.’

(852) əhã ke dekh-la sə̃ bujhae-t-0
*dekh-əe-la sə̃
*dekh-ə-la sə̃
You(H)-ACC/DAT see-INF from feel-FUT-(3NH + 2H)
‘You will understand/feel after seeing it.’

Type 7:
In constructions with *je* ‘that’ complementizer the infinitive structure is of Type 4, i. e., Stem + *-əe-bəla* + “finite auxiliary’:

(853) *bujha-it* *əich* *je* *rəmes*
appear-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 1) that Ramesh
ja-e-bəla *ch-əith*
**ja-e-la pər*
**ja-e-ke*
**jə-e-bəla*
go-INF-about/likely AUX-PRES-(3H)
'It appears (to me) that Ramesh is about/likely to go.'

(854) *həm-ər* *dharna* *je* *rəmes* *rəh-əe-bəla*
**rəh-la pər*
**rəh-əe-ke*
**rəh-bəla*
I-GENIT belief that Ramesh live-INF-about
hoe-t-ah *gələt* *ch-əl*
AUX-FUT-(3H) wrong AUX-PST-(3NH + 1)
'My belief that Ramesh was likely/about to stay proved wrong.'

6.9.3 The "full" infinitive

Basically, there are two types of "full" infinitives in Maithili. They are: (i) gerundial infinitives, and (ii) participial infinitives.

Gerundial infinitives end in *-nai*; alternatively, they may also have the "full" infinitival forms:

(855) *dəur-əb* ~ *dəur-nai* 'to run/running'
kha-eb ~ *khəe-nai* 'to eat/eating'
pi-əb ~ *pi-nai* 'to drink/drinking'

Participial infinitives are of two types: present participle and past participle. The present participle infinitive ends in *-əit*, while the past participle infinitive ends in *-əl*.

Below is a brief discussion of gerundial and participial infinitive constructions in Maithili.

6.9.3.1 Gerundial infinitive

Gerundial infinitives are, as a matter of fact, derived nominals, and they may act as the subject of a sentence:

(856) *ṭəhl-əb* *bəṛhiyã* *byayam* *əich*
ṭəhəl-nai
**ṭəhl-eb*
**təhl-əit*
walk-INF good exercise is-(3NH)
'To walk/walking is a good exercise.'

(857) *bhore bhore* *muh* *dho-eb* *nik*
dhoe-nai
**dho-it*
early in the morning mouth wash-INF good
'To wash/washing the mouth early in the morning is good.'

Gerundial infinitives may also act as the complement of a subject:

(858) *hun-ka* *piṭ-əb* *əhā̃-k* *gəlti*
piṭ-nai
**piṭ-eb*
**piṭe-nai*
**piṭ-əit*
he(H)-ACC/DAT beat-INF you(H)-GENIT mistake
bhe-l-0
become-PST-(3NH + 2H)
'To beat him was your fault.'

6.9.3.2 Participial infinitive

6.9.3.2.1 Present participle

As has been stated above, present-participle infinitives end in *-əit*. Consider, however, the following sentences:

(859) *kha-it* *ch-əl-ah* (aspectual *-əit*)
eat-IMPERF AUX-PST-(3H)
'He was eating/He used to eat.'

(860) *kha-it* *bəj-l-ah* (infinitival *-əit*)
**khae-nai*
**kha-eb*
eat-PRESPCPL speak-PST-(3H)
'He spoke while eating.'

Present-participle infinitives may therefore act as adverbs:

(861) *həm dəur-əit ae-l-əhũ*
**dəur-əb*
**dəur-nai*
I run-PRESPCPL come-PST-(1)
'I came running.'

(862) *o hə̃s-əit ae-l-ah*
**hə̃s-əb*
**hə̃s-nai*
he(H) laugh-PRESPCPL come-PST-(3H)
'He came laughing.'

(863) *əhã bimar bujha-it ch-i*
**bujha-eb*
**bujhəe-nai*
You(H) ill seem-INF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'You seem to be ill.' (lit.: '*You are seeming ill.')

Present-participle infinitives may also act as adjectival modifiers; in such constructions, a present-participle infinitive must precede the noun it modifies:

(864) *hə̃s-əit chɔ̃ṛa ke dekh-l-əhũ-0*
**hə̃s-əb*
**hə̃s-nai*
laugh-INF boy ACC/DAT see-PST-(1 + 3NH)
'I saw the boy who was laughing/I saw the laughing boy.'

But if the present-participle infinitive verb precedes the finite full verb, then it acts as an adverb:

(865) *chɔ̃ṛa ke dəur-əit dekh-l-əhũ-0*
boy ACC/DAT run-INF see-PST-(1 + 3NH)
'I saw the boy running.'

6.9.3.2.2 Past participle

As has been stated above, the past-participle infinitive ends in *-əl*, and it may act as (i) an adjective (attributive), (ii) an adverb, or (iii) a passive form.

(i) Adjective

(866) *ṭuṭ-əl khaṭ pər ke sut-ət?*
**ṭuṭ-əit*
**ṭuṭ-əb*
**ṭuṭ-nai*
break-PSTPCPL cot on who sleep-FUT-(3NH)
'Who will sleep on the broken cot?'

(867) *gae-l-e git ke gaɔ-t?*
**gəb-əit-e*
**ga-eb-e*
**gəe-nai-e*
sing-PSTPCPL-EMPH song who sing-FUT-(3NH)
'Who will sing a sung song?'

Notice that these attributive adjectival participial infinitives may be modified further by such partitive elements as *bəhut* 'very, much', *nik jəkã* 'in a good manner', *besi* 'much, more', *bəhut bəsi* 'a lot more', etc.:

(868) *i khaṭ bəhut ṭuṭ-əl əich*
besi
bəhut besi
nik jəkã
…
this cot very much break-PSTPCPL be-PRES-(3NH)
'This cot is broken very much.'

(ii) Adverb

(869) *tabət həm sut-əl rəh-əb*
until then I sleep-PSTPCPL remain-FUT-(1)
'Until then I will remain asleep.'

(870) *təkhən tõ jəg-l-e ch-əl-e*
then you(NH) awake-PSTPCPL-EMPH be-PST-(2NH)
'You were awake then.'

(iii) Passive

Compare the following sentences:

(871) *dokan bənd bhe-l rəh-əik* (active)
shop closed become-PSTPCPL AUX-PST-(3NH)
'The shop was closed/The shop was (in a state of being) closed.'

(872) *dokan bənd kae-l ge-l-əik* (passive)
**kər-əb*
**kae-nai*
**kər-əit*
shop closed do-PSTPCPL go-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'The shop was closed (by someone).'

6.9.4 Gerundial or participial?

Compare the following sentences:

(873) a. *əi chɔ̃ṛa-k daur-əb həm-ra ənsohãt*
daur-nai
**daur-əit*
**daur-əl*
this boy-GENIT run-GER INF I-ACC/DAT unpleasant
lag-əl-0
feel-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I didn't like this boy's running.'

b. *səbdin həm əi chɔ̃ṛa ke daur-əit*
**daur-əb*
**daur-nai*
**daur-əl*
everyday I this boy ACC/DAT run-GER INF
dekh-əit ch-i-0
see-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1 + 3NH)
'I see this boy running every day.'

(874) a. *hun-k-ər hə̃s-nai nik lag-əl-0*
hə̃s-əb
**hə̃s-əit*
**hə̃s-əl*
he(H)-GENIT laugh-GER INF good feel-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I liked his smiling/laughing.'

b. *hun-ka hə̃s-əit dekh-əl-iəinh*
**hə̃s-əb*
**hə̃s-nai*
**hə̃s-əl*
he(H)-ACC/DAT laugh-PRESPCPL see-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I saw him laughing.'

(875) a. *həm ok-ər nəkəl kər-əb*
kae-nai
**kər-əit*
**kae-l*
I he(NH)-GENIT imitation do-GER INF
dekh-l-əhũ-0
see-PST-(1 + 3NH)
'I saw him imitating/I saw his act of imitation.'

b. *həm ok-ra nəkəl kər-əit*
**kər-əb*
**kae-nai*
**kae-l*
I he(NH)-ACC/DAT imitation do-PRESPCPL
dekh-əl-iəik
see-PST-(1 + 3NH)
'I saw him imitating.'

(876) a. *həm-ra ok-ər bəis-əb nik*
bəis-nai
**bəis-əit*
**bəis-əl*
I-ACC/DAT he(NH)-GENIT sit-PSTPCPL good
lag-əl-0
feel-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I liked his (style of) sitting.'

b. *həm ok-ra bəis-əl dekh-əl-iəik*
**bəis-əb*
**bəis-nai*
I he(NH)-ACC/DAT sit-PSTPCPL see-PST-(1 + 3NH)
'I saw him (in a state of) sitting.'

Sentences [873–876] clearly demonstrate the syntactic difference between the gerundial infinitive and the participial infinitive constructions: (a) sentences are gerundial, while (b) sentences are participial. In other words, the object of a gerundial infinitive is always marked by the genitive case marker/postposition, whereas the object of a participial infinitive is marked by the accusative-dative case marker/postposition.

Chapter seven
Adverbs, postpositions, clitics, interjections, and particles

7.0 Introduction

A number of elements have been grouped together in this chapter. These elements are heterogeneous in their grammatical and semantic properties; they have been grouped together here purely for expository ease.

7.1 Adverbs

Adverbs are rather hard to define in Maithili. As a matter of fact, there are only a few items whose sole function is adverbial. Other expressions may, however, play an adverbial role within a particular sentence. Consider, for instance, the following sentences:

(877) *o ekaek aib ge-l-ah*
he(H) suddenly come go-PST-(3H)
'He arrived all of a sudden.'

(878) *ona nəi kər-u*
that way not do-IMP-(2H)
'Don't act like that.'

(879) *məndəl-ji nik likh-əit ch-əith*
Mandal-HP well write-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'Mandalji writes well.'

(880) *hosiyari sə̃ kaj kər-əb*
carefully work do-FUT-(2H)
'Do the job carefully.'

(881) *nokər dəur-əit æ-l*
servant run-PRESPCPL come-PST-(3NH)
'The servant came running.'

(882) *o pəhine aib ge-l-ah*
he(H) first come go-PST-(3H)
'He arrived early.'

In sentence [877] *ekaek* 'suddenly' is a true adverb; in [878], *ona* 'that way' is a demonstrative (remote) pronoun functioning as an adverb; in [879], *nik* 'well' is an adjective functioning as an adverb; in [880], *hosiyari sə̃* 'carefully' is a noun (which in turn is derivable from the adjective *hosiyar* 'careful') plus the postposition *sə̃* 'from' functioning as adverb; in [881], *dəurəit* is a present participial form which functions as an adverb; and in [882], *pəhine* 'first' is an ordinal functioning as an adverb.

Morphologically, adverbs in Maithili may be divided into (i) nonderivative, i.e., those which are "true" adverbs, and (ii) derivative, i.e., those which are derivable from a noun, pronoun, adjective, verb, etc. Below is a brief discussion of these two types of adverbs in Maithili.

7.1.1 Nonderivative adverbs

The nonderivative adverbs are the "true" adverbs; what distinguishes these forms is that their sole function is an adverbial one. Semantically, these may be grouped into adverbs of time, place, and manner. A brief list, with examples, is given below.

Adverbs of time: *ai* 'today'; *bihan* 'tomorrow'; *kailh* 'tomorrow; yesterday'; *pərsu* 'day after tomorrow; day before yesterday'; *pəurkã* 'last year'; *tesurkã* 'year before the last; year after the next'; *pəhine* 'before (lit.: first)'; *ləgle* 'at once'; *jəldi* 'soon'; *turənt(e)* 'at once'; *səit khən* 'always'; *əngutti* 'early morning'; *bhor(e)* 'dawn'; *bərməhəl* 'constantly; always; regularly'; *kəhiyokəhiyo* 'sometimes'; etc.

A few of these are illustrated below:

(883) *həm ai jæ-b*
I today go-FUT-(1)
'I will go today.'

(884) *o bihan/kailh əu-t-ah*
he(H) tomorrow come-FUT-(3H)
'He will come tomorrow.'

(885) *pəurkã(sal) bəḍ dhan bhe-l-əik*
last year a lot paddy become-PST-(3NH)
'Last year the paddy crop was extremely good.'

(886) *bərməhəl ṭəhl-əl kər-u*
regularly walk-PSTPCPL do-IMP-(2H)
'Walk regularly.'

(887) *ləgle əbi-həh*
at once come-FUT IMP-(2MH)
'Come at once.'

(888) *əngutti-e ge-l-ah*
early in the morning-EMPH go-PST-(3H)
'He left early in the morning.'

(889) *kəhiyokəhiyo əb-əit rəh-u*
sometimes come-PRESPCPL remain-IMP-(2H)
'Keep coming sometimes.'

Adverbs of place: *ũc* 'high'; *nic* 'low; below'; *nica* 'downward'; *ləg* 'near'; *dur* 'far'; *əi parləi kat* 'this side'; *oi parloi kat* 'that side; across'; *bahər/bəhra* 'outside'; *bhitər/bhitri* 'inside'; *əntə* 'elsewhere'; etc.

A few examples are given below for illustration:

(890) *hun-k-ər dhoti nica səsəir ge-l-əinh*
he(H)-GENIT dhoti downward move go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'His dhoti has moved downward.'

(891) *besi ləg nəi a-u bahr-e*
much near not come-IMP-(2H) outside-EMPH
rəh-u
live-IMP-(2H)
'Do not come too close; stay outside.'

(892) *o əntə rəh-əit ch-əith*
he(H) elsewhere live-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'He is not from here.' (lit.: 'He lives elsewhere.')

Adverbs of manner: *ekaek* 'suddenly'; *bhəne* 'rightly'; *jəldijəldi* 'quickly'; *həbərhəbər* 'instantly; quickly'; *nəhũnəhũ* 'slowly; gracefully'; *kəlebəle* 'secretly; quietly;' *phusurphusur* 'whisperingly'.

Note the phenomenon of reduplication in most adverbs of manner in Maithili. What needs to be indicated, however, is the fact that while *jədi* 'soon' may stand on its own, other adverbs cannot. Thus, *həbər* and *phusur* are meaningless words in Maithili. Examples:

(893) *ki həbərhəbər bəj-əit ch-i?*
what quickly speak-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Why (do you) speak so fast?'

(894) *rəmes-ək kəniyã phusurphusur bəj-əit*
Ramesh-GENIT wife whisperingly speak-IMPERF
ch-əith
AUX-PRES-(3H)
'Ramesh's wife speaks whisperingly, i. e., softly.'

(895) *bhəne kəh-əl-iəinh*
rightly say-PST-(2H + 3H)
'You said it rightly (to him).'

(896) *kəlebəle cəil a-u*
secretly walk come-IMP-(2H)
'Come back quietly/secretly.'

7.1.2 Derivative adverbs

Derivative adverbs are those which are derivable from a noun, pronoun, adjective, or verb. These are discussed below.

7.1.2.1 Pronoun-adverbs

Pronoun-based adverbs are derivable from demonstrative, relative-correlative, and interrogative pronouns.

Demonstrative pronouns as adverbs: *etə(e)* 'here; at this place'; *otə(e)* 'there; at that place'; *ekhən/əkhən/əkhni* 'now; at this time'; *ena* 'in this way/manner'; *ona* 'in that way/manner'; *emhər* 'in this direction'; *omhər* 'in that direction'.

A few of these are illustrated below:

(897) *malik jaṛ me otə sə̃ etə cəil əb-əit*
master winter in there from here walk come-IMPERF
ch-əith
AUX-PRES-(3H)
'The master comes back here from there in winter.'

(898) *həm ekhən nəi æ-b*
I now not come-FUT-(1)
'I will not come now.'

(899) *jɔ̃ o ena nəi kər-t-ah tə həm-hũ*
if he(H) this way not do-FUT-(3H) then I-EMPH
ona nəi kər-b-əinh
that way not do-FUT-(1 + 3H)
'If he doesn't act like this I too would not do so (to him).'

(900) *emhər sɔ̃ əhã a-u a*
this direction from you(H) come-IMP-(2H) and
omhər sɔ̃ həm
that direction from I
'You come from this direction and I from that.'

Relative-correlative pronouns as adverbs: *jəta(e)* 'where; at which place' … *təta(e)* 'there; at that place'; *jəkhən/jəkhni* 'when; at which time' … *təkhən/təkhni* 'then; at that time'; *jəhiya* 'which day; on which day' … *təhiya* 'that day; on that day'; *jena* 'in which way/manner' … *tena* 'in that way/manner'; *jemhər* 'in which direction' … *temhər* 'in that direction'.
The following examples illustrate them:

(901) *jəta əhã jæ-b təta həm-hũ*
where you(H) go-FUT-(2H) there I-EMPH
'Where you go, I go (there) too.'

(902) *əhã jəkhən kəh-i həm təkhən təiyar*
you(H) when say-IMP-(2H + 1) I then ready
ch-i
be-PRES-(1)
'Whenever you say I am (then) ready.'

(903) *jəhiya kəh-t-ah təhiya də de-b-əinh*
which day say-FUT-(3H) that day give give-FUT-(1 + 3H)
'I will give (it to him) on the day he says.'

(904) *jena kəh-l-əhũ tena kae-l-əhũ*
as say-PST-(2H) so do-PST-(1)
'As you said so I did.'

(905) *jemhər o ja-it ch-əith*
in which direction he(H) go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
temhər ə-hũ
in that direction you(H)-EMPH
'In whichever direction he goes, you go too.'

Interrogative pronouns as adverbs: *kəta(e)* 'where; at which place'; *kəkhən/kəkhni* 'when; at what time'; *kəhiya* 'at what day'; *kena/kona* 'how; in what manner'; *kiæ(k)* 'why; for what reason'. Examples:

(906) *kəta ja rəhəl ch-i?*
where go PROG AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Where are you going?'

(907) *kəkhən əe-l-ah?*
when come-PST-(3H)
'When did he come?'

(908) *kəhiya jæ-b?*
on what day go-FUT-(2H)
'On what (specific) day will you go?'

(909) *mach kona bika-it ch-əik?*
fish how sell-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'How is the fish selling?/What is the price of the fish?'

(910) *kemhər jæ-b?*
in which direction go-FUT-(2H)
'Which way will you go?'

(911) *kiæk cəil əe-l-əhũ?*
why walk come-PST-(2H)
'Why did you come back?'

Note that of the pronominal adverbs listed above, semantically *eta*, *ota*, *jəta* … *təta*, and *kəta* are adverbs of place; *ekhən*, *jəkhən* … *təkhən*, *jəhiya* … *təhiya*, *kəkhən*, and *kəhiya* are adverbs of time; *ena*, *ona*, *jena* … *tena*, and *kena* are adverbs of manner; *kiæk* is the adverb of cause; and *emhər*, *omhər*, *jemhər* … *temhər*, and *kemhər* are adverbs of direction.

7.1.2.2 Adjective-based adverbs

A few adverbs are derivable from the following adjectives: *bəhut* 'much'; *kəm* 'less'; *besi* 'much; more'; *ədhik* 'more; much'; *khali* 'only'. Examples:

(912) *kailh rait bəhut bərkha bhe-l*
yesterday night much rain become-PST-(3NH)
'It rained heavily last night.'

(913) *əhã kəm khae-l-əhũ*
you(H) less eat-PST-(2H)
'You ate less.'

(914) *khali pəṛhb-e kər-əit ch-i ki*
only read-EMPH do-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H) or
kaj-o (kər-əit ch-i)?
work-EMPH do-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Do you study only, or do you work as well?'

7.1.2.3 Postpositional adverbs

Such adverbs are usually made of a nominal (i. e., noun, pronoun, adjective) followed by any one of a host of postpositions. Examples:

Noun + postposition

(915) *sabdhani sə̃ jæ-b*
care from go-FUT-(2H)
'Go carefully.' (lit.: 'You will go carefully.')

(916) *rait kẽ nəi a-u*
night ACC/DAT not come-IMP-(2H)
'Don't come at night.'

(917) *sãjh dhəir rəh-əb*
evening until live-FUT-(1)
'I will stay until the evening.'

(918) *o purub bhər ge-l-ah*
he(H) east in the direction of go-PST-(3H)
'He went eastwards.'

(919) *o khet dis ge-l-ah*
he(H) field in the direction of go-PST-(3H)
'He went toward the fields.'

(920) *həm-ər jəmin ohi gach dhəir əich*
I-GENIT land that tree up to be-PRES-(3NH + 1)
'My land is up to that tree.'

Pronoun + postposition

(921) *kəthi sə̃ əe-l-əhũ?*
what from come-PST-(2H)
'How did you come?/By what means did you come?'

(922) *kəthi lel mar-əl-iəik?*
what for beat-PST-(2H + 3NH)
'Why did you beat him?'

(923) *kəthi də(e) kəh-l-əhũ?*
what about say-PST-(2H)
'What did you speak about?'

(924) *kətə dhəir jæ-b?*
where up to go-FUT-(2H)
'How far/up to where will you go?'

(925) *oi dis tak-0*
that in the direction of look-IMP-(2NH)
'Look in the other direction.'

Adjective + postposition/particle

(926) *hun-ka dəhi nik jəkã de-b-əinh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT curd well like give-FUT-(2H + 3H)
'(Please) serve him the curd generously.'

(927) *kəm kə nəi le-b*
less CP not take-FUT-(2H)
'Do not take for less.' (lit.: 'You will not take for less.')

(928) *thorbe kə di-iəunh*
less CP give-IMP-(2H + 3H)
'Give him sparingly.'

7.1.2.4 Verbal adverbs

The present and past participial verbal forms also function as adverbs in Maithili:

(929) *o cəl-əit əe-l-ah*
he(H) walk-PRESPCPL come-PST-(3H)
'He came walking.'

(930) *u hə̃s-əit æ-l*
he(NH) laugh-PRESPCPL come-PST-(3NH)
'He came laughing.'

(931) *pənḍit-ji gair pəṛh-əit aib rəhəl*
pundit-HP abuse read-PRESPCPL come PROG
ch-əith
AUX-PRES-(3H)
'Punditji is coming (while) abusing (someone).'

(932) *o bhəir din bəiṭh-əl rəh-l-ah*
he(H) whole day sit-PSTPCPL remain-PST-(3H)
'He remained sitting the whole day.'

(933) *həm ṭren me sut-əl əe-l-əhũ*
I train in sleep-PSTPCPL come-PST-(1)
'I came sleeping in the train.'

The conjunctive/absolutive particle *kə(e)*, when used with a verb, also renders the verb adverbial in function, e. g.:

(934) *o kha kə ge-l-ah*
he(H) eat CP go-PST-(3H)
'He went after eating.'

(935) *uiṭh kə baj-u*
arise CP speak-IMP-(2H)
'Speak standing up(right).'

(936) *soic kə likh-u*
think CP write-IMP-(2H)
'Write after thinking.'

Various types of subordinate clauses that have adverbial functions are discussed in 9.6.3.

7.2 Postpositions

I have used the term "postposition" throughout the book and assumed familiarity on the part of the reader with regard to its meaning. This might be as good a place as any to discuss it in some detail.

Postpositions (unlike prepositions) always follow the noun or the pronoun to which they are attached. They are ordinarily viewed as non-affixal, free morphs and even translate as full lexical items, e. g.,

(937) *dokan sə̃*
shop from
'From the shop'

(938) *gam pər*
village on
'At home'

(939) *ghər me*
house in
'Inside the house'

Postpositions may combine with case markers, e. g.,

(940) *gach-ək tər*
tree-GENIT under
'Under the tree'

(941) *həm-ra sə̃*
I-ACC/DAT from
'From me'

(942) *ram-ək bhai khatir*
Ram-GENIT brother for
'For the sake of Ram's brother'

(943) *pəṛhb-ak lel*
read (Verbal noun) for
'In order to study'

Postpositions may also combine with postposition(s), e.g.,

(944) *tõ həm-ra me sə̃ la-0*
you(NH) I-ACC/DAT in from bring-IMP-(2NH)
'Bring from among mine' (lit.: 'Bring from in mine')

(945) *tõ ok-ra pər sə̃ uṭha*
you(MH) he(NH)-ACC/DAT on from lift
lab-əh
bring-IMP-(2MH)
'You go and lift it from him.' (lit.: 'Go and lift it from at him.')

(946) *ghər-ək pəchari me sə̃*
house-GENIT behind in from
'From the back of the house' (lit.: 'From in the back of the house')

A few postpositions may also be followed by the genitive case marker:

(947) *əgari-k dokan*
in front of-GENIT shop
'The shop ahead'

(948) *tər-ək khəini*
under-GENIT tobacco
'The tobacco from underneath'

Occasionally, a complex noun phrase containing a number of case markers may also be extended by postposition(s):

(949) *əhã-k beṭa-k beṭi-k lel*
you(H)-GENIT son-GENIT daughter-GENIT for
'For your son's daughter'

(950) *həm-ra ghər-ək əgari-k dokan me sə̃*
I-ACC/DAT house-GENIT in front of-GENIT shop in from
'From out of the shop (lying) in front of my house'

(951) *ohi hə̃s-əit məugi-k khoĩch me sə̃*
that laugh-PRESPCPL woman-GENIT lap in from
'From out of the lap of that smiling woman'

It may not be possible to enumerate the complete list of postpositions used in modern Maithili for the simple reason that postpositions are not a fixed and limited set; new postpositions are constantly being added to the language by speakers of varying societal and educational backgrounds. Thus, for instance, a set of at least eight postpositional words may be in existence in Maithili for the English preposition 'for': *lel*, *lagi*, *læ*, *khatir*, *baste*, *hetu*, *nimitt*, and *karne*.

Below a list of postpositions occurring in modern Maithili is given with illustrations (cf. S. Jha 1958: 324–349).

əgarilagulagã (pedantic) 'in front of; before'

(952) *həm-ra əgari (me) ṭhaṛh ho-u*
I-ACC/DAT in front of in standing be-IMP-(2H)
'Stand in front of me.'

(953) *agulagã ke pəhũc-əl?*
before who reach-PST-(3NH)
'Who arrived before/first?'

əndər 'inside; within'

(954) *ghər-ək əndər*
house-GENIT inside
'Inside the house'

(955) *ek məhina-k əndər*
one month-GENIT within
'Within one month'

əchəit(e) 'in spite of'

(956) *ḍhəua-k əchəit hun-k-ər jan ge-l-əinh*
money-GENIT in spite of he(H)-GENIT life go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He lost his life in spite of wealth.'

əlabe/əlaba 'in addition to'

(957) *hun-ka əlabe aor ke ke ch-əl-ah?*
he(H)-ACC/DAT in addition to and who who be-PST-(3H)
'Who else was there in addition to him?'

ənusar 'according to'

(958) *hin-ka ənusar tõ dosi ch-əh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT according to you(MH) guilty be-PRES-(2MH)
'According to him you are guilty.'

əpeccha ⟨Skt. *apekṣā*⟩ 'in comparison with'

(959) *ek-ər əpeccha u nik*
this-GENIT in comparison with that good
'That is better compared to this.'

otəloi thã ⟨*ohi ṭham*⟩ 'at the place of'

(960) *həm ab əhã otəloi ṭhã kəhiyo nəi æ-b*
I now you(H) at the place of never come-FUT-(1)
'I will never come to your house now.'

upər 'above'

(961) *həm-ra sə̃ upər ke?*
I-ACC/DAT from above who
'Who is above me?'

pəcharilpachulpachã (pedantic) 'behind'

(962) *ghər-ək pachu cor ṭhaṛh ch-əl*
house-GENIT behind thief standing be-PST-(3NH)
'A thief stood behind the house.'

tər 'under; below'

(963) *gach tər suit rəh-u*
tree under sleep live-IMP-(2H)
'Sleep under the tree.'

(964) *gach-ək tər me suit rəh-u*
tree-GENIT under in sleep live-IMP-(2H)
'Sleep under the tree.'

jore 'together with'

(965) *kək-ra jore əe-l-əh?*
who-ACC/DAT with come-PST-(2MH)
'Who did you come with?'

səŋe 'with'

(966) *həm-ra səŋe cəl-u*
I-ACC/DAT with walk-IMP-(2H)
'Come with me.'

mare 'on account of'

(967) *ḍər-ək mare hun-ka pesab*
fear-GENIT on account of he(H)-ACC/DAT urine
bhə ge-l-əinh
become go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He urinated on account of fear.'

bina 'without'

(968) *to-ra bina o nəi jəe-thunh*
you(NH)-ACC/DAT without he(H) not go-FUT-(3H)
'He won't go without you.'

bute 'by'

(969) *həm-ra bute i nəi hæ-t*
I-ACC/DAT by this not be-FUT-(3NH + 1)
'I can't do it.'

pə(r) 'on; at'

(970) *aikailh o gam-e pə(r) ch-əith*
these days he(H) village-EMPH at be-PRES-(3H)
'These days he is at home'

pər sə̃ 'after (in succession)'

(971) *hun-ka tin-ṭa beṭi pər sə̃ beṭa*
he(H)-ACC/DAT three-CLAS daughter after son
bhe-l-əinh
become-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'A son was born to him after the birth of three daughters.'

dis 'toward; on the side of'

(972) *o ṭisən dis ge-l-ah*
he(H) station toward go-PST-(3H)
'He left toward the station.'

(973) *o həm-ra dis ch-əith*
he(H) I-ACC/DAT on the side of be-PRES-(3H)
'He is on my side.'

sudha 'along with'

(974) *həm-ra sudha kæ admi*
I-ACC/DAT along with how many man
bhe-l?
become-PST-(3NH)
'How many are we including me?'

khatir 'for; for the sake of'

(975) *beṭa-k khatir o səb dhən gəmə-l-əinh*
son-GENIT for he(H) all wealth lose-PST-(3H)
'He lost all his wealth for the sake of his son.'

lekhe 'in the judgment of'

(976) *gonu jha lekhe gam bətah*
Gonu Jha in the judgment of village mad
'In the eyes of Gonu Jha all the people (of the village) are mad.'

sən 'like'

(977) *hun-ka sən bər kətə bheṭ-ət?*
he(H)-ACC/DAT like bridegroom where meet-FUT-(3NH)
'Where can you find a bridegroom like him?'

dhəir 'up to; until'

(978) a. *ṭisən dhəir cəl-u*
station up to walk-IMP-(2H)
'Come up to the station.'
b. *kəhiya dhəir rəh-əb?*
when until live-FUT-(2H)
'Until when will you stay?'

sãti (me) 'in lieu of'

(979) *ḍhəua sãti me bachi də de-0*
money in lieu of calf give give-IMP-(2NH)
'Give me the calf in lieu of money.'

tək (*tori* in colloquial styles) 'until; up to'

(980) *kəhiya tori am tor-əit rəh-b-e*
when until mango pluck-IMPERF live-FUT-(2NH)
rəu?
VOC-(2NH)
'How long will you be plucking mangoes?'

begər 'without'

(981) *radha-ji-k begər i kaj nəi hæ-t*
Radha-HP-GENIT without this work not be-FUT-(3NH)
'This task won't be accomplished without Radhaji.'

par (me) 'on the side of'

(982) *o hun-ka par me ch-əith*
he(H) he(H)-ACC/DAT on the side of be-PRES-(3H)
'He is on his side.'

lə kə 'including'

(983) *hun-ka lə kə kæ-goṭe*
he(H)-ACC/DAT including how many-CLAS
bhe-l-əh?
become-PST-(2MH)
'How many of you are there now including him?'

baste 'for'

(984) *əpna paribar-ək baste o bəhut dhən jəma*
REFL family-GENIT for he(H) much wealth collect
kəe-l-əinh
do-PST-(3H)
'He collected a lot of wealth for his family.'

təre 'in lieu of'

(785) *kərja təre i gachi həm-ər*
loan in lieu of this orchard I-GENIT
bhe-l
become-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I claim this orchard in lieu of the loan.'

dəldəe 'about'

(986) *gam ghər də kiuch kəh-u*
village house about something say-IMP-(2H)
'Say something about our village.'

jəkã 'like'

(987) *hun-ka jəkã əhã kẽ*
he(H)-ACC/DAT like you(H) ACC/DAT
chəj-ət?
suit-FUT-(3NH + 2H)
'It won't suit you to act like him.'

(988) *nik jəkã ja-u*
good like go-FUT-(2H)
'Go well.'

kə 'at the rate of'

(989) *rupəiya ke tin ser kə bhənṭa*
rupee ACC/DAT three seer at the rate of brinjal
de-b-hək?
give-FUT-(2MH + 3NH)
'Will you sell at the rate of three seers of brinjal for a rupee?'

kə 'during'

(990) *rait kə əskəre nəi a-u*
night during alone not come-IMP-(2H)
'Don't come alone at night.'

diya 'through'

(991) *ciṭṭhi jənardən diya pəṭhæ-b*
letter Janardan through send-FUT-(2H)
'Send the letter through Janardan.'

kat 'beside'

(992) *həm-ra kat me bəis-əh*
I-ACC/DAT beside in sit-IMP-(2MH)
'Sit beside me.'

bhə kə 'through'

(993) *əŋn-e bhə kə a-u*
courtyard-EMPH through come-IMP-(2H)
'Come through the courtyard (itself).'

də kəldə ne 'through'

(994) *ghər-e də kəldə ne a-u*
house-EMPH through come-IMP-(2H)
'Come through the house (itself).'

lel 'for'

(995) *ghər lel ki sənes kin-l-əhũ?*
house for what gift buy-PST-(2H)
'What gift did you buy for the family?'

sə̃ (when attached to a numeral followed by a classifier) 'together with'

(996) *pãc-goṭe sə̃ a-u*
five-CLAS together with come-IMP-(2H)
'Come together with five people.'

ləgalləga kə 'including'

(997) *nokər ləga dəs-goṭe bhe-l-e*
servant including ten-CLAS become-PST-(2NH)
'You are now altogether ten including the servant.'

bəmojim 'as per'

(998) *hun-ka bəmojim əhã nəi sək-b-əinh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT as per you(H) not can-FUT-(2H)
'You won't be able to match him.'

pəlla me 'under the control of'

(999) *u aikailh bəuh ke pəlla me*
he(NH) these days wife ACC/DAT under the control of
əich
be-PRES-(3NH)
'These days he is under the control of his wife.'

sojhe 'in the direction of'

(1000) *nak-e sojhe ja-u*
nose-EMPH in the direction go-IMP-(2H)
'Go straight in the direction of your nose.'

bic 'between'

(1001) *i həm-ra to-ra bic-ək*
this I-ACC/DAT you(NH)-ACC/DAT between-GENIT
gəp əich
talk be-PRES-(3NH)
'This matter is between you and me.'

bhəir 'throughout'

(1002) *o rait bhəir pəṛh-əit rəh-l-ah*
he(H) night throughout read-IMPERF AUX-PST-(3H)
'He continued to study throughout the night.'

mahe 'through'

(1003) *əŋna mahe a-u*
courtyard through come-IMP-(2H)
'Come through the courtyard.'

bhəre 'on; in the direction of'

(1004) *muri-e bhəre khəs-l-ah*
head-EMPH on fall-PST-(3H)
'He fell headlong.'

hathe 'through'

(1005) *nokər hathe səmadh kiæk paṭhɔ-l-əinh?*
servant through message why send-PST-(3H)
'Why did he send the message through the servant?'

səmet 'including'

(1006) *radha-ji səmet khisia ge-l-ah*
Radha-HP including angry go-PST-(3H)
'Even Radhaji became angry.'

hoit 'via'

(1007) *həm bilæt hoit æ-b*
I England via come-FUT-(1)
'I will come via England.'

sire 'at the cost of'

(1008) *tõ ai həm-r-e sire*
you(NH) today I-ACC/DAT-EMPH at the cost of
kh-o
eat-IMP-(2NH)
'Today you will eat at my cost.'

sike/siko 'in the direction of'

(1009) *kon siko ḍol khəs-l-əh?*
which in the direction of bucket fall-PST-(3NH + 2MH)
'In which direction did your bucket fall (in the well)?'

hetu 'for the purpose of'

(1010) *o ənusəndhan kər-bak hetu jərməni*
he(H) research do-(Verbal noun) for Germany
ge-l-ah
go-PST-(3H)
'He went to Germany to do research.'

səntã (pedantic) 'after'

(1011) *bhojən kəe-l-ak səntã æ-b*
meal do-(Verbal noun) after come-FUT-(1)
'I will come after my meal.'

sibæ 'except'

(1012) *əhã-k sibæ həm-ər aor ke?*
you(H)-GENIT except I-GENIT and who
'Who else is there for me except you?'

muhẽ 'in the direction of; facing'

(1013) *uttər muhẽ ṭhaṛh ho-u*
north facing standing be-IMP-(2H)
'Stand facing north.'

sojha me 'before'

(1014) *həm-ra sojha me nəi a-u*
I-ACC/DAT before not come-IMP-(2H)
'Don't come to me.' (lit.: 'Don't come in front of me.')

marphət 'through'

(1015) *kək-ra marphət səmadh de-l-iəinh?*
who-ACC/DAT through message give-PST-(2H + 3H)
'Through whom did you send the message to him?'

sath(e) 'with'

(1016) *kək-ra sathe əe-l-əh?*
who-ACC/DAT with come-PST-(2MH)
'With whom did you come?'

For a more exhaustive list, containing postpositions occurring in early and middle Maithili, the reader is referred to S. Jha (1958: 324–349).

7.3 Clitics

In this section, the morphology of Maithili emphatic clitics will be described. The data to be examined are enclitics, that is, cases of clitics which are attached externally to a host word.

There are a total of six bound morphemes which function as markers of emphasis/focus in Maithili: *-e*, *-o*, *-hi*, *-hu*, *-he*, and *-ho*. The emphatic markers can be either inclusive or exclusive (also called "restrictive"). The exclusive emphatic translates into English as 'only; alone', while the inclusive emphatic translates as 'even; also; too', e. g.,

Inclusive	Exclusive
ram-o 'Even Ram'	*ram-e* 'Only Ram'
tor-o 'Even to you(NH)'	*tor-e* 'Only to you (NH)'
həm-hũ 'Even I'	*həm-hĩ* 'Only I'
tõ-hũ 'Even you(NH)'	*tõ-hĩ* 'Only you(NH)'
o-ho 'Even he (H/NH)'	*o-he* 'He(H/NH) alone'

In what follows, we wish to demonstrate that of the six bound morphemes used to indicate emphasis in Maithili, *-e* and *-o* should be described as clitics, and *-hi*, *-hu*, *-he*, and *-ho* should be treated as inflectional affixes and not as clitics. We base the following presentation on a study by Zwicky–Pullum (1983).

7.3.1 *-e* and *-o* as clitics

In a study of the English negative formative *n't*, Zwicky–Pullum (1983) list a number of criteria for distinguishing clitics from inflectional affixes and arrive at the rather unconventional conclusion that while English contracted auxiliaries (e. g., *She's gone*) are clitics, the English contracted negative *n't* (e. g., *She hasn't gone*) "should be treated as an (inflectional) affix rather than a clitic (of any sort)" (Zwicky–Pullum 1983: 512).

Not all of the criteria put forth by Zwicky–Pullum (1983) may apply *in toto* to the Maithili data; however, the prominent ones do. These are listed below:

(i) degree of selection;
(ii) arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations; and
(iii) morphophonological idiosyncrasies.

We will judge below the morphosyntactic behavior of the emphatic markers in Maithili in light of the above criteria, and adduce some additional evidence as well.

(i) Degree of selection

The emphatic markers *-e* and *-o* exhibit an extremely low degree of selection and can attach to virtually any category of the Maithili language. In other words, they can attach to pronouns, nouns, adjectives, numerals, verbs, adverbs, and so on. The following data illustrate:

Pronouns

1 person 'I'	2 person (MH, NH) 'you'
həm (NOM)	*tõ* (NOM)
həm-ra (ACC/DAT)	*to-ra* (ACC/DAT)
həmr-e/**həm-ra-e*	*tor-e*/**to-ra-e*
həmr-o/**həm-ra-o*	*tor-o*/**to-ra-o*
həm-ər (GENIT)	*toh-ər* (GENIT)
həmr-e	*to(h)r-e*
həmr-o	*to(h)r-o*

3 Person (H) 'he/she'

Remote	Proximate
o (NOM)	*i* (NOM)
hun-ka (ACC/DAT)	*hin-ka* (ACC/DAT)
hunk-e/**hun-ka-e*	*hin-ke*/**hin-ka-e*
hunk-o/**hun-ka-o*	*hink-o*/**hin-ka-o*
hun-k-ər (GENIT)	*hin-k-ər* (GENIT)
hun-k-ər-e	*hin-k-ər-e*
hun-k-ər-o	*hin-k-ər-o*

3 person (NH)

Remote	Proximate
o (NOM)	*i* (NOM)
ok-ra (ACC/DAT)	*ek-ra* (ACC/DAT)
okr-e/**ok-ra-e*	*ekr-e*/**ek-ra-e*
okr-o/**ok-ra-o*	*ekr-o*/**ek-ra-o*
ok-ər (GENIT)	*ek-ər* (GENIT)
okr-e	*ekr-e*
okr-o	*ekr-o*

Nouns

leru 'calf'	*pɔ* 'dawn'
leru-e	*pɔ-e*
leru-o	*pɔ-o*
beṭa 'son'	*hərre* 'a herb'
beṭ-e	*hərre-e*
beṭ-o	*hərre-o*
kaṭh 'wood'	*məugi* 'woman'
kaṭh-e	*məugi-e*
kaṭh-o	*məugi-o*

Adjectives

ũc 'high'	*lal* 'red'
ũc-e	*lal-e*
ũc-o	*lal-o*
unṭa 'opposite'	*kari* 'black'
unṭ-e	*kari-e*
unṭ-o	*kari-o*

Numerals

ek 'one'	*du* 'two'	*sæ* 'hundred'
ek-e	*du-e*	*sæ-e*
ek-o	*du-o*	*sæ-o*

Verbs

əich 'is (NH)'	*ch-əl-ah* 'was (3H)'
əich-e	*ch-əl-ah-e*
əich-o	*ch-əl-ah-o*
pəṛh-t-ah 'will study (3H)'	
pəṛh-t-ah-e	
pəṛh-t-ah-o	

Adverbs

tər 'under'	*upər* 'above'
tər-e	*upr-e*
tər-o	*upr-o*
ləg 'near'	*bahər* 'outside'
ləg-e	*bahr-e*
ləg-o	*bahr-o*

Compound verbs

kha le-l-əinh 'ate up (3H)'
eat take-PST-(3H)

kha-e le-l-əinh
kha-o le-l-əinh

uṭh-a d-iəunh 'cause to lift'
rise-CAUS give-IMP-(2H + 3H)

uṭh-a-e d-iəunh
uṭh-a-o d-iəunh

cəil ge-l-ah 'went away (3H)'
walk go-PST-(3H)

cəil-e ge-l-ah
cəil-o ge-l-ah

lə ge-l-ah 'took away (3H)'
take go-PST-(3H)

lə-e ge-l-ah
lə-o ge-l-ah

Compound place and proper names

rampur	*rampur-e* *ram-epur*	*rampur-o* *ram-opur*
rajnəgər	*rajnəgr-e* *raj-enəgər*	*rajnəgr-o* *raj-onəgər*
kaṭhmanḍu	*kaṭhmanḍu-e* *kaṭh-emanḍu*	*kaṭhmanḍu-o* *kaṭh-omanḍu*
ramɔtar	*ramɔtar-e* *ram-eɔtar*	*ramɔtar-o* *ram-oɔtar*

Proper names and/or family names

rəmes misr	*rəmes-e misr* *rəmes-o misr*	*rəmes misr-e* *rəmes misr-o*
jha	*jha-e* *jha-o*	
yadəb	*yadb-e* *yadb-o*	

By contrast, inflectional affixes exhibit a high degree of selection and are extremely particular with regard to the host to which they can attach. Take, for example, the future affix *-ət*, which can attach only to verb stems of the third-person subject:

(1017) *o le-t-ah*
he(H) take-FUT-(3H)
'He will take'

but not to those with first or second person subjects:

(1018) *həm *le-t/le-b*
'I will take'

(1019) *tõ *le-t-elle-b-e*
'You(NH) will take'

In a similar manner, the emphatic markers *-hi*, *-hu*, *-he*, and *-ho* are attached only to pronouns, and to no other grammatical category at all. The following data illustrate this peculiarity:

1 person 'I'	2 person (MH/NH) 'you'
həm (NOM)	*tõ* (NOM)
həm-hĩ	*tõ-hĩ*
həm-hũ	*tõ-hũ*

2 person 'you'

High honorific	Honorific
əpne (NOM)	*əhã* (NOM)
əpnə-hĩ	*ə-hĩ/*əhã-hĩ*
əpnə-hũ	*ə-hũ/*əhã-hũ*
əpne kẽ (ACC/DAT)	*əhã kẽ* (ACC/DAT)
əpne-hĩ-kẽ	*ə-hĩ kẽ/*əhã-hĩ kẽ*
əpne-hũ-kẽ	*ə-hũ kẽ/*əhã-hũ-kẽ*
əpne-k (GENIT)	*əhã-k* (GENIT)
əpnə-hĩ-k	*ə-hĩ-k/*əhã-hĩ-k*
əpnə-hũ-k	*ə-hũ-k/*əhã-hũ-k*

3 Person/demonstrative pronoun

Remote	Proximate
olu (NOM)	*i* (NOM)
o-he	*e-he*
o-ho	*e-ho*
ohi kẽ (ACC/DAT)	*ehi kẽ* (ACC/DAT)
*o-hi kẽ/*ohi-hi kẽ*	*ə-hi kẽ/*ehi-hi kẽ/*əhi-hi kẽ*
*o-hu kẽ/*ohi-hu kẽ*	*ə-hu kẽ/*ehi-hu-kẽ/*əhi-hu kẽ*

(ii) Arbitrary gaps

The data presented above amply demonstrate that the emphatic markers *-hi*, *-hu* -he, and *-ho* exhibit enormous arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations even within a single category. Thus, for example, they attach only to a number of pronouns. Upon closer scrutiny, it turns out that *-he* and *-ho* attach only to the third person and/or demonstrative pronouns, and indeed only in the nominative case forms. Similarly, *-hi* and *-hu* also attach only to pronouns, and exhibit unusual holes in the pattern in that they attach to 1 and 2 MH/NH in the nominative, to demonstrative pronouns in the accusative, and to 2(H)H in all case forms. By contrast, *-e* and *-o* exhibit only a minor gap in that they do not attach to the nominative case forms of pronouns of any person.

(iii) Morphophonological idiosyncrasies

The most conclusive evidence in favor of an enclitical (rather than affixal) interpretation of the emphatic markers *-e* and *-o* comes from the realm of morphophonemics. Note that upon cliticization of *-e* and *-o* no idiosyncratic morphophonemic changes occur in the data; only those phonological changes occur which form a part of the general phonological properties of the Maithili language.

The first phonological change relates to examples marked with asterisks preceding them. A general phonotactic constraint disallows a vowel (in this case the emphatic enclitic *-e* or *-o*) attaching to a stem of more than one syllable and ending in an unstressed *a*:

**həlla-e/hølle*	'Only shouting'
**həlla-o/həllo*	'Even shouting'
**kə̃ṛa-e-/kə̃ṛe*	'Only an anklet'
**kə̃ṛa-o/kə̃ṛo*	'Even an anklet'
**həm-ra-e/həmre*	'Only to me'
**həm-ra-o/həmro*	'Even to me'
**ok-ra-e/okre*	'Only to him(NH)'
**ok-ra-o/okro*	'Even to him(NH)', and so on.

Derived stems of more than one syllable, however, may allow vowel clustering with the stressed *a*:

(1020) *kəṭá-u* → *kəṭáu*
cut-CAUS I-IMP-(2H) '(You) cause to cut'

(1021) *unəṭ-á-o* *de-0* →
roll over-CAUS I-EMPH give-IMP-(2NH)
unṭáo de
'Roll it over also'

(1022) *pəṛh-á-e* *d-əhik* →
read-CAUS I-EMPH give-IMP-(2NH + 3NH)
pəṛháe dəhik
'Only teach him (if nothing else)'

For more information on vowel clustering, see chapter 2.

The second morphophonemic change relates to a highly productive (exceptionless) rule of schwa deletion (see chapter 2) of the type …VCəCV… →…VC0CV… In short, the schwa deletion rule says that the final schwa of a verbal/adverbial/nominal stem is deleted if last a vowel-initial morpheme is added:

(1023) *həm-ər-e* → *həmre* (Pronoun)
I-GENIT-EMPH 'Only mine'

(1024) *ok-ər-o* → *okro* (Pronoun)
he(NH)-ACC/DAT-EMPH 'Even to him'

(1025) *pəjər-a-eb* → *pəjraeb* ~ *pəjræb* (Verb)
light fire-CAUS I-(INF) 'to cause to light fire'

(1026) *utər-əb* → *utrəb* (Verb)
alight-INF 'to alight'

(1027) *kəmər-o* → *kəmro* (Noun)
waist-EMPH 'Even the waist'

(1028) *Yadəb-e* → *Yadbe* (Noun)
Yadav-EMPH 'Only Yadav'

(1029) *rajnəgər-ək* → *rajnəgrək* (Noun)
Rajnagar-GENIT 'of Rajnagar'

(1030) *bahər-o* → *bahro* (Adverb)
outside-EMPH 'Even outside'

(1031) *patər-e* → *patre* (Adjective)
thin-EMPH 'Only thin'

(1032) *ujər-o* → *ujro* (Adjective)
white-EMPH 'Even white'

and so on.

By contrast, the idiosyncratic morphophonemic changes that occur upon suffixation of *-hi*, *-hu*, *-he*, and *-ho* are more typical of inflectional affixes than of clitics, as is illustrated below:

(1033) *ja-t-ah* → *jəetah* [*a* → *ə*; *0* → *e*]
go-FUT-(3H) 'He will go'

(1034) *la-t-ah* → *ləutah* ~ *lɔtah* [*a* → *əu*/*ɔ*]
bring-FUT-(3H) 'He will bring'

(1035) *kər-əl-əinh* → *kəeləinh* [*r* → *0*; *0* → *e*; *ə* → *0*]
do-PST-(3H) 'He did'

(1036) *i-hel-ho* → *ehel-ho* [*i* → *e*]
this-EMPH 'Only/Even this'

(1037) *əhã-hil-hu* → *əhĩl-hũ* [*hã* → *0*;
You(H)-EMPH 'Only/Even you' i/u → ĩ/ũ]

Note also the data listed under the "compound place and proper names" and "proper names and/ or family names" above. They are interesting because in these examples the clitic is positioned after the first element of a larger unit with which the clitic is semantically associated. That is to say, in *kaṭhomanḍu*, *o* pertains to (i. e., emphasizes) *kaṭhmandu* 'Even Kathmandu'; yet it is positioned after only the first constituent of *kaṭh-manḍu*. This is reminiscent of the Latin clitic *que* 'and', whose semantic effect is to conjoin an expression X to some earlier expression, even though it is positioned after the first constituent of X:

[bonī puerī] [bellae-que puellae]
good boys X
pretty-and girls
'Good boys and pretty girls.'

One further independent motivation to treat *-e* and *-o* as clitics, rather than as inflectional affixes, comes from the following phonological fact of the Maithili sound system.

An important feature of the lexical phonology of Maithili is the *a* → *ə* rule which occurs regularly and systematically upon addition of a suffix containing a vowel. This is illustrated below:

(1038) *kaṭh* 'wood' *kəṭhgər* 'woody/hard'
(1039) *caur* 'rice' *cəurgər* 'like rice'
(1040) *maus* 'meat' *məusgər* 'meaty'
(1041) *kam* 'work' *kəmai* 'wages; earning'

(1042)	*hathi*	'elephant'	*həthini*	'female elephant'
(1043)	*pakəl*	'ripe'	*pəkəlha*	'the ripe one'
(1044)	*kari*	'black'	*kərikki*	'the black one (F)'
(1045)	*maṭi*	'soil'	*məṭia*	'soily'
(1046)	*pagəl*	'mad'	*pəgla*	'mad man'
			pəgli	'mad woman'

But the addition of *e* or *o* does not activate the *a* → *ə* rule:

(1047)	*kaṭh*	'wood'	*kaṭhe*/ **kəṭhe*	'only wood'
			kaṭho/ **kəṭho*	'even wood'
(1048)	*bhat*	'rice'	*bhate*/ **bhəte*	'only rice'
			bhato/ **bhəto*	'even rice'
(1049)	*ə̃car*	'pickle'	*ə̃care*/ **ə̃cəre* **ə̃cre*	'only pickle'
			ə̃caro/ **ə̃cəro* **ə̃cro*	'even pickle'

To conclude, analysis of the Maithili data calls for a "mixed" analysis of emphatic markers in Maithili. It is suggested that *-e* and *-o* should be treated as clitics, while *-hi*, *-hu*, *-he* and *-ho* should be treated as affixes.

Also, *-hi*, *-hu*, *-he*, and *-ho* might be thought of as synthetic (inflectional) expressions of emphasis, while *-e* and *-o* are analytic expressions of emphasis. Comparison with the English *-er* and *more* as synthetic and analytic markers of adjectival comparison might provide further support to our analysis.

7.4 Interjections

Interjections in Maithili are independent lexical items which express certain emotions. These items occur either sentence-initially or as one-word sentences. A few of them are listed here (note, however, that it may not always be possible to gloss them accurately): *ãĩ* 'What!', *bah* 'Bravo!', *hə̃/hũ* 'Yes', *ə̃hə̃/ũhũ* 'No', *chi/chichi/chia/chiachia* 'Shame on you; fie on you!', *əha/oho* 'Oh!', *ə̃hə̃hə̃* 'Oh no!'.

ãĩ 'What!' conveys surprise, shock, or disbelief:

(1050) *ãĩ, o məir ge-l-ah!*
what he(H) die go-PST-(3H)
'What! Did he die!'

(1051) *ãĩ, nəi sun-l-əhũ!*
what not hear-PST-(1)
'What! I didn't quite hear it!'

bah 'Bravo!' expresses admiration and appreciation:

(1052) *bah, əhina pəṛh-u!*
bravo this way read-IMP-(2H)
'Bravo! Well done, go on reading like this!'

(1053) *bah, khub kæ-l!*
bravo much do-PST-(3NH)
'Bravo! Well done!'

hə̃/hũ 'Yes': *hə̃*, which literally means 'Yes', conveys agreement; it may optionally be followed by a vocative particle.

(1054) *hə̃ (yəu) ai səin ch-əik*
yes VOC(2H) today Saturday be-PRES-(3NH)
'Yes, today is Saturday.'

hũ is accompanied by an affirmative nod:

(1055) a. *cəl-əb nəi?* b. *hũ*
walk-FUT not yes
'Won't you go?' 'Yes'

ə̃hə̃ denotes a negative answer and usually shows disagreement or disconfirmation:

(1056) a. *ki yəu, o jərməni sə aib ge-l-ah?*
what VOC(2H) he(H) Germany from come go-PST-(3H)
'Hello you, did he come back from Germany?'
b. *ə̃hə̃, nəi æ-l ch-əith*
no not come-PERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'No, he hasn't come.'

chi, *chichi*, *chia*, or *chiachia* all convey an element of strong disapproval, prohibition, and even disgust:

(1057) *chichi*, *tõ* *kona* *ehən* *buṛh* *ke*
shame on you you(MH) how such old ACC/DAT
dhəkel-l-əh!
push-PST-(2MH + 3NH)
'Shame on you; how could you push such an old man!'

(1058) *chiachia*, *ehən* *kaj* *nəi* *kər-i!*
shame on you such work not do-IMP
'Don't ever do such a thing; it would be a shame to do so!'

əhaloho usually conveys sorrow:

(1059) *əha* *becare* *khəis* *pəṛ-l-ah!*
oh poor fellow fall lie-PST-(3H)
'How sad that he fell down!'

But *əha* may also convey admiration for an object of beauty:

(1060) *əha* *kehən* *nik* *gulab* *phulæ-l* *əich!*
oh how good rose blossom-PERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'Oh, how beautiful these roses are!'

ə̃hə̃hə̃ expresses forebodings and warnings:

(1061) *ə̃hə̃hə̃* *ohi* *tar* *kẽ* *nəi* *chub-u!*
oh no that wire ACC/DAT not touch-IMP-(2H)
'Oh no, don't touch that wire!'

In addition to the above-mentioned lexical items, a number of (rather unglossable) petrified expressions are used by Maithili speakers to convey disgust, fear, pain, etc. A few of them are illustrated below.

dhətteri ke (nəhi tən) expresses disgust and frustration:

(1062) *dhətteri ke*, *əhã* *hun-ka* *ona* *nəi*
you(H) he(H)-ACC/DAT that way not
kər-iəunh
do-IMP-(2H + 3H)
'Leave him alone; don't pester him like that!'

(1063) *dhətteri ke nəhi tən* *hun-ka* *pher*
he(H)-ACC/DAT again
beṭi-e *bhe-l-əinh*
daughter-EMPH become-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'Damn it, he got a daughter again!'

mæ gəi (literally 'mother (VOC, F))' and *bau həu* (literally 'father (VOC, 2MH))' are interjections used to convey sudden pain, fear, and shock. *mæ gəi* is more often used by female speakers while *bau həu* is used mainly by male speakers (apparently to appeal to parents – who are obviously not present there – for help as it were):

(1064) *bau* *həu* *coṭ* *laig* *ge-l*
father VOC(2MH) hurt attach go-PST-(3NH + 1)
'Oh father, I am hurt!'

(1065) *mæ* *gəi* *khəs-l-əhũ*
mother VOC fall-PST-(1)
'Oh mother, I fell!'

On the other hand, expressions like *mæ gəi mæ*, *bau həu bau*, or even *dəiya ge dəiya* (lit.: 'grandmother (VOC) grandmother') may be used by the crying person if the pain is acute:

(1066) *mæ* *gəi* *mæ* *chati* *cir-ne* *ja-it*
mother VOC mother chest pierce-PERF go-IMPERF
əich!
AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'Oh mother, it hurts me so!' (lit.: 'It is piercing my chest!')

(1067) *dəiya* *ge* *dəiya* *mər-l-əhũ!*
grandmother VOC grandmother die-PST-(1)
'Oh grandmother, I am about to die!'

Young brides, leaving their parental home for the first time to join their husband's family, burst into tears and cry bitterly using *mæ ge mæ*, *dəiya ge dəiya*, and so on.

Modes of greeting in Maithili also involve the use of a few frozen expressions. Today, educated speakers both offer and receive *nəməskar*. *Pərnam* ⟨praṇāma⟩ is used to greet senior people deserving more respect. However, the rural people use a petrified expression like *gor ləg-əi(t) chi*

(lit.: 'I touch your feet'); sometimes, they use a special greeting like *ḍənḍot baba* to greet hermits.

In those situations where the rank of the interlocutors is rather hard to determine, a vague *ki yəu* (what (VOC, 2H)) 'What then; Hello' is used. In such circumstances, the speaker both offers and receives *ki yəu*.

Also, lacking a word for 'good bye', the speaker of Maithili either expresses his intent to leave and uses *nəməskar* or *pərnam* as the case may be, or instead says *bes tələccha tə* 'Well then', and makes an appropriate gesture to leave.

Finally, a number of onomatopoeic interjections also exist in Maithili; these are used either to call or scare off, to halt, or to egg on domestic animals to move. A few examples are given below for illustration:

Calling domestic animals: (dog) *ətuh ətuh*; *ətuh le* …; (cat) *pisu pisu*; (goat) *ərrrrrra* (*r* is heavily trilled); (buffalo) *mhəi mhəi*
To scare off: (dog/cat) *dhur dhur*; *dhur re*
To halt: (buffalo/bullock/cow) *hɔ*, *hɔ re*; *hɔhɔhɔ*
To egg on to move: (buffalo) *bəhəṭ*; *bəhət ne*, (bullock) *ɔ*; *ɔre*

7.5 Particles

In this section, two types of particles will be discussed. These are: (i) honorific particles, and (ii) vocative particles.

7.5.1 Honorific particles

The use of honorific particles in order to convey politeness and deference to the addressee is a common trait in Maithili and other Indo-Aryan languages. The three most common honorific particles which follow the names and occupational titles are (the rather unglossable) *ji*, *sæheb*, and *babu*, e. g.,

(1068) a. *jənardən-ji* 'Janardan'
Janardan-HP
b. *radha babu* 'Radha'
Radha HP

(1069) a. *mənḍəl-ji* 'Mandal'
a caste name-HP
b. *jha-ji* 'Jha'
a caste name-HP

(1070) a. *ḍaktər sæheb* 'Doctor'
doctor HP
b. *prophesər sæheb* 'Professor'
professor HP

(1071) a. *babu-ji* 'Father'
father-HP
b. *mama-ji* 'Maternal uncle'
maternal uncle-HP

Sentences [1068–1071] demonstrate that the honorific particles may follow first names [1068], last names [1069], occupational titles [1070], and kinship terms [1071].

A few honorific particles, e. g., *sri* ⟨śrī⟩ 'Mr.' and *sriməti* ⟨śrīmatī⟩ 'Mrs.' may precede the first names when last names also occur, or the last names (note that in both cases the last names may already be suffixed with *ji*):

(1072) *ab sri jənardən mənḍəl-ji bəj-t-ah*
now HP Janardan Mandal-HP speak-FUT-(3H)
'Now Mr. Janardan Mandal will deliver a speech.'

(1073) *a-u sri jha-ji sə pəricəy*
come-IMP-(2H) HP Jha-HP from acquaintance
kərb-əit ch-i
do-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'Come, I will introduce you to Mr. Jha.'

(1074) *sriməti mina jha nami ḍakṭər ch-əith*
Mrs. Mina Jha famous doctor be-PRES-(3H)
'Mrs. Mina Jha is a famous doctor.'

sri may also be used for women holding high positions, in which case it may not be necessary to highlight the marital status:

(1075) *ab prophesər sri mina jha kiuch kəh-ə*
now professor HP Mina Jha something say-INF
cah-əit ch-əith
want-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'Now professor Mina Jha would like to say a few words.'

For young unmarried girls, it is customary to use *kumari* (lit. ' young maiden'):

(1076) *kumari rəma sərma ləja-it ch-əith*
HP Rama Sharma shy-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'Miss Rama Sharma is shy.'

babu, too, may precede the first names when last names also occur:

(1077) *babu jənardən məndəl*
HP Janardan a caste name
'Janardan Mandal'

In order to show extreme politeness and deference, honorific particles may be used both before and after the first and last names:

(1078) *babu ramswərup yadəb-ji*
HP Ramswaroop a caste name-HP
'Ramswaroop Yadav'

(1079) *srimәti kəbita das-ji*
Mrs. Kabita a caste name-HP
'Mrs. Kabita Das'

Below is a brief description of the distributional semantics of the honorific particles which follow different terms.

7.5.1.1 *ji*

ji is the most prolific of all honorific particles, and can collocate with almost all sorts of terms. The following examples illustrate:

Kin terms

(1080)	a. *pita-ji*	(father-HP)	'Father'
	b. *mata-ji*	(mother-HP)	'Mother'
	c. *kaka-ji*	(uncle-HP)	'Uncle'
	d. *bhai-ji*	(brother-HP)	'(Elder) brother'

Personal names

(1081)	a. *rəmes-ji*	(Ramesh-HP)	'Ramesh(M)'
	b. *sita-ji*	(Sita-HP)	'Sita(F)'

Occupational titles

(1082)	a. *kirani-ji*	(clerk-HP)	'Clerk'
	b. *pujari-ji*	(priest-HP)	'Priest'
	c. *bidyarthi-ji*	(student-HP)	'Student'

Last names

(1083)	a. *das-ji*	(Das-HP)	'Das'
	b. *jha-ji*	(Jha-HP)	'Jha'
	c. *yadəv-ji*	(Yadav-HP)	'Yadav'

When borrowed English words are used as titles, it is preferable to use *sæheb* rather than *ji*, as will be apparent below.

7.5.1.2 *sæheb*

sæheb (cf. *sahib* used for a white man in British India) occurs mainly with those professional occupations which are represented by the use of borrowed English words:

(1084) a. *ḍakṭər sæheb* 'Doctor'
doctor HP
b. *bhais canslər sæheb* 'Vice-chancellor'
vice chancellor HP
c. *əphisər sæheb* 'Officer'
officer HP
d. *inspekṭər sæheb* 'Inspector'
inspector HP
e. *ḍraibhər sæheb* 'Driver'
driver HP

but

(1085)	a. *bəid-ji*	'A medical practitioner (with indigenous training)'
	b. *məntri-ji*	'Minister'
	c. *sastri-ji*	'Shastri (a degree in the Sanskritic educational system)'

sæheb is also used with a few kin terms:

(1086)	a. *bhai*	*sæheb*	'Brother'
	b. *səsur*	*sæheb*	'Father-in-law'
	c. *sala*	*sæheb*	'Brother-in-law'

but not

d. *pita sæheb 'Father'
e. *mata sæheb 'Mother'

sæheb can also follow a few feminine terms, especially those represented by borrowed English words:

(1087) a. *ḍakṭər-ni sæheb* 'Doctor'
doctor-F HP
b. *məntra-ni sæheb* 'Minister (also, the wife of the minister)'
minister-F HP

One interesting feature of *sæheb* should be noted. Unlike *ji*, *sæheb* can stand on its own and not have the occupational title or the last name precede it; in such instances, *sæheb* may be construed as representing a contracted form of 'title + *sæheb*', as illustrated below:

(1088) a. *sæheb cəil ge-l-ah ki?*
officer walk go-PST-(3H) what
'Has the officer left?'
b. **ji cəil ge-l-ah ki?*

(1089) a. *sæheb bhitr-e ch-əthunh?*
doctor inside-EMPH be-PRES-(3H)
'Is the doctor still in?'
b. **ji bhitr-e ch-əthunh?*

Sentence [1088a] would be so glossed into English when it is used to inquire with a peon about a certain officer in a government office; similarly, sentence [1089a] would be so glossed into English when it is used to inquire with an assistant if the medical doctor is still inside the dispensary room.

7.5.1.3 *babu*

babu (lit. 'father') collocates mostly with first and last names, and never with kin terms and professional titles using borrowed English words:

(1090) a. *rəmes babu* 'Ramesh'
b. *radha babu* 'Radha'
c. *mənḍəl babu* 'Mandal'
d. *yadab babu* 'Yadav'

(1091) a. **kaka babu* 'Uncle'
b. **mama babu* 'Maternal uncle'
c. **bhai babu* 'Brother'

(1092) a. **ḍairekṭər babu* 'Director'
b. **bhais canslər babu* 'Vice-chancellor'

Those professional occupations which use indigenous vocabulary as labels are followed by *babu*:

(1093) a. *kirani babu* 'Clerk'
b. *purhit babu* 'Priest'
c. *dəroga babu* 'Police officer'
d. *okil babu* 'Lawyer'

Finally, as its literal gloss implies, *babu* can never cooccur with a feminine name or title:

(1094) a. **sita babu* 'Sita'
b. **mənṭrani babu* 'Minister'
c. **ḍakṭərni babu* 'Doctor'
d. **masṭərni babu* 'Teacher'

To conclude, the factors which govern the choice of the honorific particles are essentially those which govern the use of honorific verbal inflections. In other words, the use of an honorific particle with a term would automatically trigger the non-optional use of the honorific verbal inflections. This is illustrated below:

(1095) *ḍakṭər sæheb aib ge-l-ah/ *ge-l-0*
doctor HP come go-PST-(3H) go-PST-(3NH)
'The doctor has arrived.'

(1096) *jənardən-ji prophesər ch-əith/ *əich*
Janardan-HP professor be-PRES-(3H) be-PRES-(3NH)
'Janardan is a professor.'

(1097) *kirani babu hisab ṭhik kəe-l-əinh/ *kəe-l-ək*
clerk HP accounts right do-PST-(3H) do-PST-(3NH)
'The clerk settled the accounts.'

Also, in addition to being used in vocative terms of address, a NP marked with one of the honorific particles can also serve as subject or object:

(1098) *radha-ji* (Vocative)
Radha-HP
'Radha!'

(1099) *radha-ji jənəkpur ge-l-ah* (Subject)
Radha-HP Janakpur go-PST-(3H)
'Radha went to Janakpur.'

(1100) *həm radha-ji kẽ kailh jənəkpur me*
I Radha-HP ACC/DAT yesterday Janakpur in
dekh-ne rəh-iəinh (Object)
see-PERF AUX-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I had seen Radha yesterday in Janakpur.'

7.5.2 Vocative particles

A number of vocative particles exist in Maithili. Their appropriate selection may depend upon the male–female contrast of the addressor–addressee. In other words, the vocative forms depend on whether these are to be used (i) by men for men, (ii) by men and women for women, and (iii) by women for men. The vocative particles also show honorificity distinctions, as shown below.

(i) For men by men:

(H)H	*yəu*	~	*yɔ*
MH	*həu*	~	*hɔ*
NH	*rəu*	~	*rɔ*

Examples:

(1101) *yəu məndəl-ji əhã kəhia əe-l-əhũ?*
VOC(H) Mandal-HP you(H) when come-PST-(2H)
'Mandalji! When did you come?'

(1102) *yəu radha babu əpne emhər*
VOC(HH) Radha HP you(HH) in this direction
æ-l ja-ɔ
come-PSTPCPL go-IMP-(2HH)
'O Radha babu! Please come here.'

(1103) *həu budhna tõ kətə ge-l*
VOC(MH) Budhna you(MH) where go-PERF
ch-əl-əh?
AUX-PST-(2MH)
'Budhna! Where had you been?'

(1104) *rəu chɔṛa tõ kek-ər beṭa*
VOC(NH) boy you(NH) who-GENIT son
ch-e?
be-PRES-(2NH)
'Boy! Whose son are you?'

Sentences [1101–1104] illustrate that there is a close correspondence between the honorificity of the vocative particles on the one hand and that of the various second person pronouns (along with their corresponding verbal agreement inflections) on the other; thus, one cannot use *rəu* (VOC NH) with *əpne* (2HH) or *əhã* (2H), and so on.

(ii) For women by men and women:

(H)H	*əe*
MH	*həe*
NH	*gəe* (also *ge*)

Examples:

(1105) *əe kaki emhər a-u*
VOC(H) aunt in this direction come-IMP-(2H)
'Aunt! Please come here.'

(1106) *həe kəniyã kənek pain lab-əh*
VOC(MH) bride a little water bring-IMP-(2MH)
'Dear bride! Please bring some water.'

(1107) *gəe mæ kətə ch-e?*
VOC(NH) mother where be-PRES-(2NH)
'Mother! Where are you?'

(iii) For men by women:

(H)H	*əe*		
MH	*həu*	~	*hɔ*
NH	*rəu*	~	*rɔ*

The above vocative forms are quite constrained in their usage. For instance, a woman uses *əe* for males (especially of her husband's home village); *həu* and *rəu*, however, are used for males who come from her own home village and/or nearby villages. The following examples illustrate:

(1108) *əe bəua kiæk kən-əit ch-i?*
VOC(H) child why cry-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Dear child! Why are you crying?'

(1109)	*həu*	*munsa*	*kətə*	*rəh-əi(t)*	*ch-əh?*	
	VOC(MH)	male	where	live-IMPERF	AUX-PRES-(2MH)	
	'O male! Where do you live?'					

(1110)	*rəu*	*chɔ̃ṛa*	*kənek*	*emhər*	*a-0*	
	VOC(NH)	boy	a little	in this direction	come-IMP-(2NH)	
	'O boy! Come here a little!'					

Chapter eight
Sentence types

8.1 Introduction

Three major sentences types will be discussed in this chapter. These are: declarative, imperative, and interrogative. Some minor types of sentences will also be discussed.

By a sentence type is meant a regular coincidence that obtains between a specific syntactic form and a specific semantic/pragmatic function. Thus, a declarative sentence is typically used to make a statement, an interrogative sentence is typically used to ask a question, and an imperative sentence is typically used to express an order, a request, or a warning:

(1111)		*əhã*	*nik*	*kəe-l-əhũ*		Declarative
		you(H)	good	do-PST-(2H)		
		'You did well/a good thing.'				
(1112)	a.	*əhã*	*kətə*	*ja-it*	*ch-i?*	Interrogative
		you(H)	where	go-IMPERF	AUX-PRES-(2H)	
		'Where are you going?'				
	b.	*i*	*əhã-k*	*əich?*		
		this	you(H)-GENIT	be-PRES-(3NH)		
		'Is it yours?				
(1113)	a.	*bhag-0*				Imperative
		run-away-IMP-(2NH)				
		'Get out!'				
	b.	*nəi*	*ja-u*			
		not	go-IMP-(2H)			
		'Don't go!'				

[1111] shows that a combination of Subject−Complement−Verb word order (with the verb agreeing with the subject) and falling intonation (shown by lack of punctuation at the end) is typically associated with one use, that of making an assertion. [1111] is a declarative sentence. [1112a] shows that a combination of Subject−Interrogative Adverb−Verb word order and falling intonation is typically associated with one specific use, that of asking a question for information. [1112b], on the

other hand, has the same word order as [1111] but lacks a question word and has a rising intonation, and it is typically associated with a Yes–No Question type sentence. [1113a] consists of an imperative verb; [1113b] has the same construction, but also contains a preverbal negator adverbial. Both sentences are of the imperative type and are used to issue directives to the addressee(s).

Sentences [1111–1113] also show that these sentence types are mutually exclusive in their distribution: none of these sentences can simultaneously belong to two different syntactic types.

A detailed description of the three major sentence types of Maithili is given in 8.2; a few minor sentence types of Maithili will be discussed in 8.3.

8.2 Major sentence types

8.2.1 Declarative

A declarative sentence is the least marked, the most basic, and the most widespread form of clause observed in the Maithili language. It has the following characteristics:

(i) A declarative sentence has the unmarked word order SOV:

(1114) a. *həm bidyarthi ch-i*
I student be-PRES-(1)
S Complement (O) V
'I am a student.'

b. *o skul ge-l-ah*
he(H) school go-PST-(3H)
S O V
'He went to school.'

(ii) Both the subject and the object control the verb agreement in a declarative sentence (as a matter of fact, verb agreement is governed by general rules of verb agreement as discussed in chapter 6):

(1115) a. *həm to-ra kitab de-l-iəuk*
I you(NH)-ACC/DAT book give-PST-(1 + 2NH)
S IO O V
'I gave you the book.'

b. *əhã hun-ka mar-əl-iəinh*
you(H) he(H)-ACC/DAT beat-PST-(2H + 3H)
S O V
'You beat him.'

(iii) A declarative sentence has the same form as the subordinate clause:

(1116) *o kəh-l-əinh je o kailh əu-t-ah*
he(H) say-PST-(3H) that he(H) tomorrow come-FUT-(3H)
'He said that he will come tomorrow.'

It is interesting that the sentential complement comes after the verb in [1116], since in a verb-final language Complement–V ordering would ordinarily be expected. Such an ordering is also possible in Maithili:

(1117) *o kailh əu-t-ah se o kəh-l-əinh*
he(H) tomorrow come-FUT-(3H) that he(H) say-PST-(3H)
'He said that he will come tomorrow/He will come tomorrow, he said.'

(iv) A declarative sentence has a falling intonation:

(1118) a. *həm ja-it ch-i*
I go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I go.'

b. *tõ kailh jəe-b-ə*
you(NH) tomorrow go-FUT-(2NH)
'You will go tomorrow.'

c. *əhã səb am kha le-l-əhũ*
you(H) all mango eat take-PST-(2H)
'You ate up all the mangoes.'

(v) A declarative sentence serves as the basis on which other sentence types are formed:

(1119) a. *əhã ja-it ch-i?*
you(H) go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Are you going?'

b. *ja-u*
go-IMP-(2H)
'Go!'

Sentence [1119a] is declarative in form, but the addition of a new prosodic feature (i. e., rising intonation) converts it into an interrogative sentence. In a similar manner, by suppressing[1] the second person pronominal subject *əhã* (you H) and by adding a special verbal morphology, sentence [1119b] becomes an imperative clause.

8.2.2 Imperative

Imperative sentences are unique in Maithili: they tend to stand apart from similar constructions in other languages. Imperatives differ from declaratives in the following respects:

(i) *Suppression of subject pronouns.* In Maithili imperatives, the second-person subject pronouns (which represent the addressee) are suppressed,[2] but their presence is felt systematically in the verbal category which carries person-honorific agreement affixes:

(1120) *j-o*
go-IMP-(2NH)
'Go!'

(1121) *lab-əh*
bring-IMP-(2MH)
'Bring!'

(1122) *la-u*
bring-IMP-(2H)
'Bring!'

Reflexive imperative constructions also reflect the existence of an antecedent subject pronoun:

(1123) *əpne kh-o*
REFL eat-IMP-(2NH)
'Eat yourself!'

(1124) *əpne a-u*
REFL come-IMP-(2H)
'Come yourself!'

Reflexive possessives also hint at the subject-pronoun which is "understood":

(1125) *əpən le-0*
REFL-GENIT take-IMP-(NH)
'Take your (own)!'

(1126) *əpna ke həṭ-a-u*
REFL ACC/DAT move-CAUS I-IMP-(2H)
'Remove your (own) self!'

(ii) *Special verbal morphology.* An imperative sentence in Maithili does not always have a completely affixless verb phrase. Only those imperatives have completely affixless verb forms whose suppressed subject happens to be the second person nonhonorific pronoun:

(1127) *həṭ-0*
move-IMP-(2NH)
'Move!'

(1128) *le-0*
take-IMP-(2NH)
'Take!'

(1129) *la-0*
bring-IMP-(2NH)
'Bring!'

(1130) *pi-0*
drink-IMP-(2NH)
'Drink!'

There are, however, at least two verbs ending in *a* (i. e., *kha* 'eat' and *ja* 'go') which show affixed imperative verb forms even with a second-person nonhonorific subject pronoun:

(1131) *kh[3]-o*
eat-IMP-(2NH)
'Eat!'

(1132) *j[4]-o*
go-IMP-(2NH)
'Go!'

If the suppressed subject is a mid or high honorific pronoun, then the person and honorific agreement affixes are retained:

(1133) *lab-əh*
bring-IMP-(2MH)
'Bring!'

(1134) *a-u*
come-IMP-(2H)
'Come!'

(1135) *li-ə*
take-IMP-(2H)
'Take!'

(1136) *ja-h*
go-IMP-(2MH)
'Go!'

Omission of person-honorific agreement affixes is typical of causative verbs as well:

(1137) *həṭ-a-0*
move-CAUS-I-IMP-(2NH)
'Remove!'

(1138) *həṭ-ba-0*
move-CAUS II-IMP-(2NH)
'Remove (through s.o.)!'

(1139) *pəṛh-a-0*
read-CAUS I-IMP-(2NH)
'Teach!'

(1140) *pəṛh-ba-0*
read-CAUS-II-IMP-(2NH)
'Teach (through s.o.)!'

but

(1141) *həṭ-a-u*
move-CAUS-I-IMP-(2H)
'Remove!'

(1142) *həṭ-ab*[5]*-əh*
move-CAUS I-IMP-(2MH)
'Remove!'

(1143) *pəṛh-a-u*
read-CAUS I-IMP-(2H)
'Teach!'

(1144) *pəṛh-ab*[6]*-əh*
read-CAUS I-IMP-(2MH)
'Teach!'

(1144) *həṭ-bab*[7]*-əh*
move-CAUS II-IMP-(2MH)
'Remove (through s.o.)!'

(1146) *pəṛh-bab*[8]*-əh*
read-CAUS II-IMP-(2MH)
'Teach (through s.o.)!

Although tense and aspectual affixes are not maintained in simple verbs, they are retained in complex verbal constructions ending in such verbs as *rəh* 'remain', *kər* 'do'. In other words, the point is that temporal and aspectual affixes do not occur in individual imperative verbs, though they may occur in the verbal complement of an imperative auxiliary:

(1147) **həṭ-əl-0*
move-PST-IMP-(2NH)

(1148) **ləb*[9]*-əit-0*
bring-IMPERF-IMP-(2NH)

but

(1149) *ləb*[10]*-əit rəh-0*
bring-IMPERF remain-IMP-(2NH)
'Keep bringing!'

(1150) *ae-l kər-0*
come-PERF do-IMP-(2NH)
'Come (regularly).'

(1151) *kha-it rəh-əh*
eat-IMPERF remain-IMP-(2MH)
'Keep eating!'

(1152) a. *ṭəhl-əl kər-u*
walk-PERF do-IMP-(2H)
'Walk (regularly)!'

b. *khəe-ne ja-u*
eat-PERF go-IMP-(2H)
'Go on eating!'

(iii) *Object marking*. The person-honorific agreement affixes for object pronouns (which are always case-fixed) are retained in Maithili imperative sentences:

(1153) *de-0*
give-IMP-(2NH + 1)
'Give (to me)!'

(1154) *d-əhi*
give-IMP-(2NH + 3NH)
'Give (to him)!'

(1155) *d-əhunh*
give-IMP-(2NH + 3H)
'Give (to him)!'

Objects are also marked in imperative constructions containing causative verbs:

(1156) *uṭh-əb-hi*
rise-CAUS I-IMP-(2NH + 3NH)
'Cause (him) to rise!'

(1157) *pəṛh-əb-hi*
read-CAUS I-IMP-(2NH + 3NH)
'Teach him!'

(1158) *uṭh-ba-u*
rise-CAUS II-IMP-(2H + 3NH)
'Cause (him) to rise (through s.o.)!'

(1159) *pəṛh-bab*[11]*-əh*
read-CAUS II-IMP-(2MH + 3NH)
'Cause (him) to teach (through s.o.)!'

(iv) *Semantics*. Imperatives usually have the inherent semantics of future. They are notionally future, as it is anticipated that the request will be carried out at a time later than the time of request. However, Maithili has distinct "future" imperative affixes as opposed to what might be

called the "immediate" imperative affixes. Compare the following sentences:

(1160) *le-0* "Immediate" Imperative
take-IMP-(2NH)
'Take!'

(1161) *l-ihe* "Future" Imperative
take-IMP FUT-(2NH)
'Take!'

(1162) *həṭ-əh* "Immediate" Imperative
move-IMP-(2MH)
'Move!'

(1163) *həṭ-ihəh* "Future" Imperative
move-IMP FUT-(2MH)
'Move!'

(1164) *kər-0* "Immediate" Imperative
do-IMP-(2NH)
'Do!'

(1165) *kər-ihe* "Future" Imperative
do-IMP FUT-(2NH)
'Do!'

It is clear that sentences [1160], [1162], and [1164] imply that the requests be carried out either at, or immediately following, the time of request, whereas sentences [1161], [1163], and [1165] imply that the requests be carried out at a time later than the time of request, or at a later time suitable to the addressee.

(v) *Negative imperatives*. In negative imperatives of Maithili, the negative particle *nəi* is in preverbal position, and the verb is in its imperative form:

(1166) *nəi j-o*
not go-IMP-(2NH)
'Don't go!'

(1167) *nəi ja-u*
not go-IMP-(2H)
'Don't go!'

(1168) *nəi a-0*
not come-IMP-(2NH)
'Don't come!'

(1169) *nəi a-u*
not come-IMP-(2H)
'Don't come!'

(1170) *nəi həṭ-0*
not move-IMP-(2NH)
'Don't move!'

(1171) *nəi həṭ-u*
not move-IMP-(2H)
'Don't move!'

8.2.3 Interrogative

According to the type of reply expected, four types of interrogative sentences may be recognized in Maithili: (i) those that expect a positive or negative answer to the questioned statement are Yes–No Questions: these questions are neutral with respect to the answer the speaker expects and therefore will be called "Neutral Yes–No Questions"; (ii) those that expect a reply from an open-ended range of replies are "Information Questions"; (iii) those that expect as a reply the answer drawn from the list of mutually exclusive alternatives provided in the question are "Disjunctive Questions"; and (iv) those that expect confirmation or disconfirmation of statements made by the speaker are tag-like questions: these questions are however biased in that the speaker uses them to influence the hearer in favor of a positive or a negative answer, and will therefore be called "Biased Yes–No Questions". These sentence types are illustrated in [1172–1175]:

Neutral Yes–No Question

(1172) a. *(əhã) khəe-l-əhũ?*
you(H) eat-PST-(2H)
'Did you eat?'
b. *ki əhã khəe-l-əhũ?*
what you(H) eat-PST-(2H)
'Did you eat?'

Information Question

(1173) a. *(əhã) ke ch-i?*
you(H) who be-PRES-(2H)
'Who are you?'
b. *kətə jae-b?*
where go-FUT-(2H)
'Where do you want to go?'

Disjunctive Question

(1174) a. *babu jibit-e ch-əith ki məir ge-l-ah?*
father alive-EMPH be-PRES-(3H) or die go-PST-(3H)
'Is your father alive or did he die?'
b. *cah le-b ki kɔphi ki kokakola?*
tea take-FUT-(2H) or coffee or coca-cola
'Would you like to have tea or coffee or coca-cola?'

Biased Yes–No Question

(1175) a. *(u) əe-l-əi, nəi (rəu)?*
he(NH) come-PST-(3NH) not VOC-(2NH)
'He came, didn't he?'
b. *o cəil ge-l-ah, sãce (yəu)?*
he(H) walk go-PST-(3H) really V0C-(2H)
'He left, really?'

8.2.3.1 The form of Neutral Yes–No Questions

The most striking property of one type of Neutral Yes–No questions is its rising final intonation:

(1176) *(əhã) cəil əe-l-əhũ?*
you(H) walk come-PST-(2H)
'Did you come back?'

(1177) *cah piə-b?*
tea drink-FUT-(2H)
'Would you like to have some tea?'

[1176] and [1177] may be described as "bare" Yes–No Questions in that they lack the question word *ki* 'what'.

Another type of Neutral Yes–No Question is characterized by the use of a sentence-initial question word *ki* 'what' and falling final intonation:

(1178) *ki o bəhut bimar ch-əith?*
what he(H) very ill be-PRES-(3H)
'Is he very ill?'

(1179) *ki tõ khəe-l-e?*
what you(NH) eat-PST-(2NH)
'Did you eat?'

(1180) *ki o-ho rəh-əik?*
what he(NH)-EMPH be-PST-(3NH)
'Was he also there?'

Neutral Yes–No Question forms are also used for rhetorical questions:

(1181) *re, həm toh-ər bhəuji*
VOC-(2NH) I you(NH)-GENIT brother's wife
ch-iəuk?
be-PRES-(1 + 2NH)
'Oh ye, am I your brother's wife?'

[1181] may be uttered by a woman who is being unjustifiably teased and vexed by a younger boy – the implication being that he has no social authority to tease her in that manner.

8.2.3.2 The form of Information Questions

Information Questions are formed with the use of *k-* proform question words. These question words are:

– Pronominal interrogatives: *ke* 'who' and its accusative-dative form *kəkra* 'whom' and genitive form *kəkər* 'whose'; *ki* 'what', and *kon* 'which'.

– Pro-adverbial interrogatives: *kəkhən* 'when'; *kəhia* 'on which day'; *kətə* 'where'; *komhər* 'in which direction'; *kona* 'how'; *kehən* 'of what type'; *kiæ(k)* 'why'.

– Pro-numeral interrogatives: *kəte(k)* 'how much/many'; *kətne/kətni* 'how little'; and so on.

These are illustrated below:

(1182) a. *ke əe-l-ah?* (Subject)
who come-PST-(3H)
'Who came?'

b. *o ke ṭharh ch-əith?* (Predicate Complement)
he(H) who standing be-PRES-(3H)
'Who is he who is standing (there)?'

(1183) a. *(tõ) kək-ra de-l-hi?* (Indirect Object)
You(NH) who-ACC/DAT give-PST-(2NH + 3NH)
'To whom did you give?'

b. *(i) kə-kər kitab ch-əik?* (Possessive Modifier)
this who-GENIT book be-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'Whose book is this?'

(1184) a. *ki bhe-l?*
what become-PST-(3NH)
'What happened?'

b. *əhã ki kin-l-əhũ?*
you(H) what buy-PST-(2H)
'What did you buy?'

(1185) a. *kon chɔ̃ṛa phek-l-ək?* (Modifying a human noun)
which boy throw-PST-(3NH)
'Which boy threw (it)?'

b. *kon kitab le-b* (Modifying a non-human noun)
which book take-FUT-(2H)
'Which book will you take?'

(1186) a. *(o) kəkhən əu-t-ah?*
he(H) when come-FUT-(3H)
'When will he come?'

In rural dialects, *kəkhni* 'when' is used:

b. *kəkhni əe-l-e?*
when come-PST-(2NH)
'When did you come?'

(1187) a. *kəhia əe-l-əh?*
on what day come PST-(2MH)
'When did you come?'

b. *kəhia sə dudh de-l-ək?*
on what day from milk give-PST-(3NH)
'Since when did (she) give milk?'

(1188) a. *kətə ge-l-əhũ?*
where go-PST-(2H)
'Where are you?' (Lit.: 'Where did you go?')

b. *o kətə ch-əith aikailh?*
he(H) where be-PRES-(3H) these days
'Where is he these days?'

(1189) *komhər cəil ge-l-əhũ?*
in which direction walk go-PST-(2H)
'Where did you disappear?'

(1190) *etek jəldi kona aib ge-l-əhũ?*
this much soon how come go-PST-(2H)
'How did you arrive back so soon?'

(1191) *sinema kehən lag-əl?*
cinema of what type feel-PST-(3NH + 2H)
'How did you like the movie?'

(1192) *kiæ(k) khisia ge-l-ah?*
why be angry go-PST-(3H)
'Why was he angry all of a sudden?'

(1193) *tõ kətek ḍhəua le-b-e?*
you(NH) how much money take-FUT-(2NH)
'How much money do you want?'

(1194) *kətne khəini de-l-e?*
how little tobacco give-PST-(2NH)
'How little tobacco did you give?'

Note that the *k*-question word occurs immediately before the verb phrase except in cases where it functions as a determiner.

All the examples given above are positive. Information Questions can also be negative:

(1195) *cah ke nəi pi-l-əith?*
tea who not drink-PST-(3H)
'Who didn't drink tea?'

[1195] presupposes that somebody didn't drink tea.

(1196) *Kaṭhmanḍu kiæk nəi cəil ja-it ch-i?*
Kathmandu why not walk go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Why don't you go to Kathmandu?'

[1196], in addition to an enquiry, also conveys advice. Negative Information Questions frequently convey indignation with an irritable tone:

(1197) *mər nəi kiæk ja-it che-ẽ?*
die not why go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2NH)
'Why don't you die?'

Information Questions may also be rhetorical:

(1198) *ke puch-t-əuk to-ra?*
who ask-FUT-(3NH + 2NH) you(NH)-ACC/DAT
'Who will ask you?'

The answer to the above question is usually in the negative, i.e., the answer is that 'no one will ask you'.

(1199) *ke kəh-əl-kəuk ja-e la?*
who say-PST-(3NH + 2NH) go-INF for
'Who asked you to go?'

[1199] means something like: 'Nobody asked you to go; you shouldn't have gone.'

More than one *k*-question word may be used in an Information Question:

(1200) *ke kəh-əl-kəik kək-ra?*
who say-PST-(3NH + 3NH) who-ACC/DAT
'Who spoke to whom?'

However, Information Questions with more than one *k*-question word are usually rhetorical:

(1201) *ke kək-ra kəthi de-ne*
who who-ACC/DAT what give-PERF
ch-əik?
AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'Who has given whom what?'

The above sentence simply means: 'No one has given anyone anything.'

Reduplicated *k*-question words convey a distributive meaning:

(1202) *jərməni me kətə kətə ge-l-əhũ?*
Germany LOC where where go-PST-(2H)
'Which places did you visit in Germany?'

8.2.3.3 The form of Disjunctive Questions

Disjunctive Questions are formed by the use of the disjunctive particle *ki* 'or'. The disjuncts of a Disjunctive Question may be a NP, a sentence, a VP, as will be apparent from the examples given below. But the most striking property of the Disjunctive Question form is that while all non-final Yes–No questions have rising intonation, the final question has falling intonation in order to suggest that the list is complete:

(1203) *pas bhe-l-e ki ə-hu sal phel-e?*
pass become-PST-(2NH) or this-EMPH year fail-EMPH
'Did you pass, or did you fail again this year?'

(1204) *əhã cɔkleṭ le-b ki dudh ki cah ki kɔphi?*
you(H) chocolate take-FUT-(2H) or milk or tea or coffee
'What will you take, chocolate or milk or tea or coffee?'

8.2.3.4 The form of Biased Yes–No Questions

Biased Yes–No Questions are formed by the use of a declarative statement followed by a tag question word *nəi* 'not' or *sãce* 'really', optionally followed by vocative *yəu* (2H), *həu* (2MH), and *rəu* (2NH):

(1205) *suga uir ge-l-əu(k) nəi?*
parrot fly go-PST-(3NH + 2NH) not
'(Your) parrot flew away, didn't it?'

(1206) *əhã pərsu jae-b nəi yəu?*
you(H) day after tomorrow go-FUT-(2H) not VOC-(2H)
'You are going day after tomorrow, aren't you?'

(1207) *o əmerika cəil ge-l-ah sãce?*
he(H) America walk go-PST-(3H) really
'He left for the U.S.A., did he/really?'

(1208) *tõ bis-ṭa am kha l-əit*
you(NH) twenty-CLAS mango eat take-IMPERF
ch-əhik sãce rəu?
AUX-PRES-(2NH + 3NH) really VOC-(2NH)
'You manage to eat twenty mangoes, do you/is that so?'

In [1205–1206], the speaker presumes to be certain about the truth of the statement and uses the Biased Yes–No Question merely to ask for confirmation of the statement by the hearer. Such, however, is not the case in [1207–1208], wherein the Biased Yes–No Questions express some doubt about the truth of the statement and invite the hearer to say what the truth is.

In leading questions, where positive answers are expected, disjunctive negative polarity tags are used by repeating the finite form of the verb of the declarative statement:

(1209) *u to-ra khub*
he(NH) you(NH)-ACC/DAT much
piṭ-əl-kəu(k) piṭ-əl-kəu(k) ki nəi?
beat-PST-(3NH + 2NH) beat-PST-(3NH + 2NH) or not
'He beat you severely, didn't he?'

In questions whose answers are presumed to be negative, the finite form of the verb of the declarative statement is repeated and is followed by an appropriate vocative:

(1210) *u to-ra nəi piṭ-əl-kəu(k)*
he(NH) you(NH)-ACC/DAT not beat-PST-(3NH + 2NH)
piṭṭ-əl-kəu(k) rəu?
beat-PST-(3NH + 2NH) VOC-(2NH)
'He didn't beat you, did he?'

8.3 Minor sentence types

8.3.1 Exclamatives

An exclamative sentence differs from a declarative sentence in more than one syntactical respect:

(i) An exclamative sentence is incomplete or truncated:

(1211) *cor ae-l* Declarative
thief come-PST-(3NH)
'The thief came.'

(1212) *cor!* Exclamative
thief
'Thief!'

(ii) An exclamative sentence may be formed by duplicating the declarative statement:

(1213) *kaka əe-l-ah* Declarative
uncle come-PST-(3H)
'The uncle came.'

(1214) *kaka əe-l-ah* *kaka əe-l-ah!* Exclamative
uncle come-PST-(3H) uncle come-PST-(3H)
'The uncle came!'

(iii) An exclamative sentence is formed by the use of exclamative particles *əẽ* 'oh', *ẽh* 'oh', etc.:

(1215) *əhã aib ge-l-əhũ* Declarative
you(H) come go-PST-(2H)
'You came back.'

(1216) *əẽ əhã aib ge-l-əhũ!* Exclamative
oh you(H) come go-PST-(2H)
'Oh, you came back!'

(iv) The principal manner in which exclamative and declarative sentences differ is the fact that exclamations are overlaid with some expressive, attitudinal meaning whereas declaratives are plainly informative. Both types represent a statement as being true, but in an exclamative sentence the speaker adds a strong emotional reaction to what he presupposes to be true. Compare:

(1217) *o chəũṛi nik ch-əi(k)* Declarative
that girl good be-PRES-(3NH)
'That girl is beautiful.'

(1218) *o chəũṛi je nik ch-əi(k)!* Exclamative
that girl that good be-PRES-(3NH)
'How beautiful that girl is!'

(1219) *ok-ər jaŋh sõṭəl ch-əi(k)*
she-(NH)-GENIT thigh shapely be-PRES-(3NH)
Declarative
'Her thighs are shapely.'

(1220) *ẽh, ok-ər jaŋh je sõṭəl ch-əi(k)!*
oh she(NH)-GENIT thigh that shapely be-PRES-(3NH)
Exclamative
'Boy, does she have shapely thighs!'

An exclamative clause resembles an interrogative clause in form in that it uses *k*-question words *kehən* 'how/of what type', *kətek* 'how much', *kətni* 'how little', but there the resemblance ends.

In exclamative clauses, the *k*-question words are syntactically different in that they occupy a determiner position[12] and function as degree modifiers to a noun, adjective, or adverb:

(1221) *kehən nik!*
'How lovely!'

(1222) *kətek bəṛhiyã!*
'How nice!'

(1223) *kətni pain!*
'How little water!'

(1224) *kətek rəsərəse cəl-əit ch-i!*
how much slowly walk-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'How slowly you walk!'

8.3.2 Hortatives

A hortative sentence is formally distinct from the imperative. Maithili uses a special verbal morphology in order to express desire for action involving both the speaker and the addressee. In a Maithili hortative sentence, therefore, the subject (whether present or suppressed) is always an inclusive pronoun *əpna səb* 'You and I/We' and the verb phrase contains *cəl-u* 'go-HORT':

(1225) *əpna səb ṭəh-lə cəl-u*
you and I walk-INF go-HORT
'Let's go to walk.'

(1226) *kha-elkh-æ cəl-u*
eat-INF go-HORT
'Let's go eat.'

An equally common device to form a hortative sentence is to add the affix *-i* to the verb stem:

(1227) *lok səb bəis ge-l əpna səb seho bəis*
people all sit go-PST-(3NH) you and I also sit
ja-i
go-HORT
'All the people sat down, let's sit down too.'

(1228) *ab əpna səb kha-i*
now you and I eat-HORT
'Let's eat now.'

(1229) *əpna səb nəi kha-i*
you and I not eat-HORT
'Let's not eat.'

8.3.3 Imprecatives

Imprecatives are expressions conveying curses and obscene abuses, with which Maithili speech is replete. A few examples (most of which are both unprintable and unutterable) are given for illustration.

(i) Curses

(1230) *bəjjər khəs-əu(k) tora!*
thunder fall-OPT-(3NH + 2NH) you(NH)-ACC/DAT
'May you be hit with thunder!'

(1231) *ok-ər beṭa məir ja-ɔ!*
she(NH)-GENIT son die go-OPT-(3NH)
'May her son die!'

Sentences [1230] and [1231] demonstrate that most of the curses use optative mood and are declarative in form. A few examples of obscene abuses are given below:

(ii) Obscene abuses

(1232) *bəhĩcod kəhĩ ke*
'Sister-fucker, you!'

(1233) *to-ra mæ ke*
'Fuck your mother!'

(1234) *sar nəhi tən*
'My wife's brother, you!'

(1235) *chinri ke jənm-əl*
'Oh ye, of illegitimate birth!'

(1236) *burcodi bhai*
'Sister-fucker!'

The sociology of calling names in the Maithili speech community needs to be investigated in greater depth. No attempt has been made in that direction because of the sexual and highly obscene nature of the topic. But the fact is that calling names among kin related by marriage (in particular wife's younger brother and sister and sister's husband's brother and sister) is not only an extremely common phenomenon, but also one of the most popular forms of amusement in the Mithila culture.

At one end of the social spectrum, calling (abusive) names is practiced with unrivalled intensity, zeal, and violence as it were among the Brahmins, who are well-known to cross limits in the realm of verbal abuse. At the lowest end of the social spectrum, quarrelsome women of lower status indulge profusely in highly ingenious and intricate exchanges of obscene abuses at the slightest opportunity and do not hesitate to provide amazingly elaborate exposés of acts of copulation through their curses and abuses. Decency requires that passers-by simply close their ears with both hands and move hurriedly, or pretend not to have heard at all. The mission of the objective grammarian, however, is to describe the language as it is spoken, even if this entails a temporary suspension of the usual conventions of modesty.

Chapter nine
The syntax and semantics of simple and complex sentences

9.1 Basic word order

The basic unmarked word order of the major constituents of the sentence in Maithili is SOV (i. e., Subject, Object, Verb in that order):

(1237) a. *ram am khəe-l-əinh*
Ram mango eat-PST-(3H)
S O V
'Ram ate a mango.'

b. *həm ram ke dekh-əl-iəinh*
I Ram ACC/DAT see-PST-(1 + 3H)
S O V
'I saw Ram.'

(1238) *tõ sita ke kitab de-l-hunh*
You(NH) Sita ACC/DAT book give-PST-(2NH + 3H)
S IO DO V
'You gave Sita a book.'

It is sometimes claimed that word order in Maithili is fairly free – that the order of the constituents in a sentence can be changed without causing an appreciable change in meaning. For instance, S. Jha (1958: 616) concludes that "words in Maithili can be arranged in any manner in a sentence by the speaker". Thus, the constituents of sentence [1237a] may be rearranged as shown below:

(1239) *am khəe-l-əinh ram* OVS

(1240) *am ram khəe-l-əinh* OSV

(1241) *khəe-l-əinh am ram* VOS

(1242) *khəe-l-əinh ram am* VSO

(1243) *ram khəe-l-əinh am* SVO
'Ram ate a mango.'

However, as argued by Y. P. Yadava (1982 b: 8–9), sentences [1239–1243] are all marked sentences, since any permutation of the constituents of sentence [1237a] will automatically lead to a change in stress and intonation patterns and hence a different assignment of semantic and/or pragmatic roles such as topic and focus to the constituents. To quote Y. P. Yadava (1982 b: 9): "The only word order which may remain neutral with respect to phonological changes and their subsequent semantic effects (i. e., topicalization and focusing) is SOV …".

Having argued that Maithili is basically a SOV language, we now turn to word order within the noun phrase. The structure has been discussed in detail in 3.4. Suffice it to say here that (attributive) adjectives (A) and genitive modifiers (G) precede head nouns (N), and therefore Maithili should be characterized as an AN and GN language. As regards the order of head noun (N) and relative clause (REL) in the relative clause construction, Maithili is predominantly NREL (however, see below, 9.6.2). Examples:

(1244) *lal ghoṛa*
red horse
'The red horse'

(1245) *həm-ər kitab*
I-GENIT book
'My book'

(1246) *o admi je kailh ae-l rəh-əith*
that(H) man REL yesterday come-PERF AUX-PST-(3H)
'The man who came yesterday' (lit.: 'The man who had come yesterday')

Usually, SOV languages have postpositions rather than prepositions. This generalization holds true for Maithili:

(1247) *ram sə̃*
Ram from
'From Ram'

(1248) *gam dhəir*
village up to
'Up to the village'

(1249) *gach-ək tər*
tree-GENIT under
'Under the tree'

(1250) *kursi pər*
chair on
'On the chair'

In comparative constructions, the standard of comparison precedes the comparative:

(1251) *to-ra sə̃ besi nəmhər*
You(NH)-ACC/DAT from more big
'Much bigger than you' (lit.: 'To you from more big')

(1252) *jənəkpur sə̃ kəm-e dur*
Janakpur from less-EMPH far
'Only a little distance from Janakpur'

More has been said about the relative order of elements in the verb phrase in 6.2. The only observations that need be made are that auxiliary verbs typically follow the main verbs, and that the adverbial modifier and the negator are preverbal in Maithili. Adverbials can also precede sentences:

(1253) *o ge-l ch-əl-ah*
he(H) go-PERF AUX-PST-(3H)
'He had gone.'

(1254) *o rəserəse kha-it ch-əl-thinh*
he(H) slowly eat-IMPERF AUX-PST-(3H)
'He used to eat slowly.' (lit.: 'He was eating slowly.')

(1255) *tõ i kitab nəi pəṛh-ne ch-əh*
You(MH) this book NEG read-PERF AUX-PRES-(2MH)
'You have not read this book.'

(1256) *həm sigreṭ nəi pib-əit ch-i*
I cigarette NEG drink-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I don't smoke.' (lit.: 'I don't drink cigarettes.')

(1257) *rəserəse o səb rəsgulla kha ge-l-ah*
slowly he(H) all rasgulla eat go-PST-(3H)
'Slowly he ate up all rasgullas.'

Finally, the verb phrase in Maithili is overwhelmingly fusional; typically a number of affixes are suffixed to the main verb stem or to the auxiliary verb stem:

(1258) *tõ hun-ka dekh-b-əhunh*
You(NH) he(H)-ACC/DAT see-FUT-(2NH + 3H)
'You will see him.'

(1259) *tõ ok-ra dekh-əit*
You(NH) he(NH)-ACC/DAT see-IMPERF
rəh-b-əhik
AUX-FUT-(2NH + 3NH)
'You will continue to see him.'

(1260) *jõ həm hun-ka dekh-it-iəinh*
if I he(H)-ACC/DAT see-COND-(1 + 3H)
'Had I seen him'

To sum up, Maithili is a nominative-accusative rather than an ergative language; it shows SOV, GN, AN, NREL, VAUX, and NPO ordering, and it is a suffixing language.

9.2 Negation

In Maithili, negation is standardly indicated by the use of the particle *nəi* (in formal and written style *nəhi*). The same invariant particle is used in all negative sentences irrespective of the sentence type and the form of the predicate. The following examples are illustrative:

(1261) *chõṛa nəi sut-əit əich*
boy NEG sleep-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'The boy does not sleep.'

(1262) *nokər nəi æ-l*
servant NEG come-PST-(3NH)
'The servant didn't come.'

(1263) *həm hun-ka ciṭṭhi nəi likh-əl-iəinh*
I he(H)-ACC/DAT letter NEG write-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I didn't write a letter to him.'

(1264) *rames pãc baje dhair nəi æ-l*
Ramesh five o'clock until NEG come-PERF
ch-əl-ah
AUX-PST-(3H)
'Ramesh had not come until five o'clock.'

(1265) a. *nəi j-o!*
NEG go-IMP-(2NH)
'Don't go!'
b. *nəi ja-u[1]!*
NEG go-IMP-(2H)
'Don't go!'

(1266) *sabun almari me nəi əich*
soap almirah in NEG be-PRES-(3NH)
'The soap is not in the almirah.'

(1267) *o murkh nəi ch-əith*
he(H) fool NEG be-PRES-(3H)
'He is not a fool.'

(1268) *tõ budhiyar nəi ch-əh*
You(MH) wise NEG be-PRES-(2MH)
'You are not wise.'

(1269) *əhã nokər sə gach nəi kəṭ-bəe-l-əhũ*
You(H) servant from tree NEG cut-CAUS II-PST-(2H)
'You didn't have the tree cut by the servant.'

(1270) *jənəkpur nəi cəl-əb?*
Janakpur NEG walk-FUT-(2H)
'Won't you come to Janakpur?'

In terms of position, the negative particle *nəi* is closely associated with the verb or the verb phrase. Note that in sentences [1261–1270] the negative particle immediately precedes the verbal group.[2]

As regards the scope, generally speaking, in a Maithili sentence the entire predicate is in the scope of negation. Thus, for example, *nəi* in sentence [1269] often simply has sentential scope, e. g., 'it is not the case that you had the tree cut by the servant'. In specific contexts, however, a negation may be allowed to be associated with the focused element in a sentence. Focusing of an element in a Maithili sentence may be achieved either through a contrastive stress (shown by not italicizing in sentences [1271–1277]) or through the syntactic device of fronting it to sentence-initial position, e. g.:

(1271) *sabun* almari me *nəi əich* (*peṭi me*
soap almirah in NEG be-PRES-(3NH) box in
əich)
be-PRES-(3NH)
'The soap is not in the almirah: (it is in the box).'

(1272) *həm* kænsəs *nəi ge-l-əhũ* (*kenṭəki*)
I Kansas NEG go-PST-(1) Kentucky
'I didn't go to Kansas (I went to Kentucky).'

(1273) *usa pəṛh-əit* nəi[3] ch-əl
Usha read-IMPERF NEG AUX-PST-(3NH)
(*pəṛh-əit əich*)
read-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'Usha didn't used to study (she still does).'

(1274) *nokər* ge-l *nəi jæ-t*
servant go-PST-(3NH) NEG go-FUT-(3NH)
'The servant didn't go, he will go.'

(1275) kitab *nəi kin-l-əinh rəmes*
book NEG buy-PST-(3H + 3NH) Ramesh
'It is not the book Ramesh bought (he bought a pen).'

(1276) bhukh *nəi lag-əl ch-əinh*
hunger NEG attach-PERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
hun-ka (*pyas*)
he(H)-ACC/DAT thirst
'He is not hungry (he is thirsty).

(1277) ghəṛi *nəi hərəe-l-əinh hun-k-ər* (*sikri*)
watch NEG lose-PST-(3NH + 3H) he(H)-GENIT chain
'He didn't lose his watch (he lost his chain).'

Maithili does not have inherently negative quantifiers and adverbs of the *none*, *no-one*, *nothing*, *never*, and *nowhere* type. Instead, these are realized as a combination of indefinite pronoun and negative particle in that order, as illustrated below:

(1278) *keonəi kəkro sə kiuch də*
Indef.pron. + NEG anyone from anything about
baj-əl
speak-PST-(3NH)
'Nobody spoke with anyone about anything.'

(1279) *keonəi bheṭ-əl*
Indef.Pron. + NEG meet-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I met none.'

(1280) *kiuchnəi* *kəh-l-əinh*
Indef.pron. + NEG say-PST-(3H + 1)
'He said nothing to me.'

(1281) *kəhionəi* *dekh-əl-iəinh*
Indef.pron. + NEG see-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I never saw her.'

(1282) *kətəunəi* *bəhra-it* *ch-əith*
Indef.pron- + NEG go out-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'She goes nowhere.'

In general, it is not possible to negate compound verbs:

(1283) a. *nokər bhaig ge-l*
servant run go-PST-(3NH)
'The servant ran away.'
b. **nokər bhaig nəi ge-l*
'The servant didn't run away.'

but,

(1284) *nokər nəi bhag-əl*
servant NEG run-PST-(3NH)
'The servant didn't run away.'

(1285) a. *hun-ka* *bokhar laig* *ge-l-əinh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT fever attach ge-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He caught a fever.'
b. **hun-ka bokhar laig nəi ge-l-əinh*
'He didn't catch a fever.'

but,

(1286) *hun-ka* *bokhar nəi* *ləg-l-əinh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT fever NEG attach-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He didn't catch a fever.'

(1287) a. *o* *məir ge-l-ah*
he(H) die go-PST-(3H)
'He died.'
b. **o məir nəi ge-l-ah*
'He didn't die.'

but,

(1288) *o* *nəi* *mər-l-ah*
he(H) NEG die-PST-(3H)
'He didn't die.'

The scope of negation in a subordinate clause may depend upon the type of predicate used in the main clause. For instance, with non-factive verbs such as *lagəb* 'to feel/think/appear', *bujhaeb* 'to think/feel/appear', *cahəb* 'to want', etc., the negative particle of the main clause may be interpreted as negating the subordinate clause as well (cf. Kachru 1980: 114 for Hindi):

(1289) a. *ləg-əit* *əich* *je* *o*
appear-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 1) that he(H)
gam *pər* *nəi* *ch-əith*
village on NEG be-PRES-(3H)
'I feel that he is not at home.'
b. *ləg-əit* *nəi* *əich* *je*
appear-IMPERF NEG AUX-PRES-(3NH + 1) that
o *gam* *pər* *ch-əith*
he(H) village on be-PRES-(3H)
'I don't think that he is at home.'

(1290) a. *bujha-it* *əich* *je* *o* *nəi*
feel-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 1) that he(H) NEG
bãc-t-ah
survive-FUT-(3H)
'I feel that he won't survive.'
b. *bujha-it* *nəi* *əich* *je* *o*
feel-IMPERF NEG AUX-PRES-(3NH + 1) that he(H)
bãc-t-ah
survive-FUT-(3H)
'I don't think that he will survive.'

With other verbs, however, the above is not the case:

(1291) a. *həm* *jan-əit* *ch-i* *je* *tõ* *nəi*
I know-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1) that you(NH) NEG
ae-b-e
come-FUT-(2NH)
'I know that you won't come.'

b. *həm nəi jən-əit ch-i je tõ*
I NEG know-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1) that you(NH)
əe-b-e
come-FUT-(2NH)
'I don't know that you will come.'

Finally, mention must be made of the fact that the interrogative pronoun *kəhã* 'where' may indicate negation (usually a refutation of a claim) in such constructions as:

(1292) *o kəhã æ-l ch-əith*
he(H) where come-PERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'He hasn't come.'

(1293) *tõ kəhã pas bhe-l-ẽ*
you(NH) where pass become-PST-(2NH)
'You didn't pass.'

(1294) *hun-ka kəhã dekh-əl-iəinh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT where see-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I didn't see him.'

9.3 Causativization

The morphological process of causative verb formation has been discussed in 6.4; the syntax and semantics of causativization are discussed below.

9.3.1 Syntax

A thorough syntactic analysis of causativization in Maithili must address the following two issues: (i) readjustment of grammatical relations (e.g., subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique object, etc.) in view of the presence of an extra noun phrase (causer)[4] in the corresponding causative sentence; and (ii) determining the case of the causee(s).

9.3.1.1 Causatives of intransitives

In the causative of an intransitive sentence, the extra noun phrase (causer) appears as the subject, while the subject of an intransitive sentence functions as direct object (causee) – in order to avoid subject-doubling as it were. The direct object (causee), when an animate noun, is marked by the accusative-dative postposition *ke*/*kẽ*; when an inanimate noun, it is generally unmarked for case (but may be case-marked in order to express emphasis, specificity, etc.[5]). In "second" causative constructions, the multiple causees,[6] termed oblique objects here, are marked by the instrumental postposition *səl*/*sə̃*. The causer NP, which functions as the subject, is in the nominative case and is unmarked for case. The following examples are illustrative:[7]

(1295) *ghər chər-əl*
house get thatched-PST-(3NH)
S
'The house got thatched.'

(1296) *jən ghər char-l-ək*
laborer house thatch-PST-(3NH)
S DO
'The laborer thatched the house.'

(1297) *nokər jən sə̃ ghər chər-ɔ-l-ək*
servant laborer INSTR house thatch-CAUS I-PST-(3NH)
S OO DO
'The servant caused the laborer to thatch the house.'

(1298) *malik nokər sə̃ jən sə̃ ghər*
master servant INSTR laborer INSTR house
S OO OO DO
chər-bɔ-l-əinh
thatch-CAUS II-PST-(3H)
'The master had the servant make the laborer thatch the house.'

(1299) *beŋ kud-əl*
frog jump-PST-(3NH)
S
'The frog jumped.'

(1300) *chɔ̃ṛa beŋ ke kud-ɔ-l-ək*
boy frog ACC/DAT jump-CAUS I-PST-(3NH)
S DO
'The boy caused the frog to jump.'

(1301) *chɔ̃ṛa nokər sə̃ beŋ ke*
boy servant INSTR frog ACC/DAT
S OO DO
kud-bɔ-l-ək
jump-CAUS II-PST-(3NH)
'The boy had the servant make the frog jump.'

9.3.1.2 Causatives of monotransitives

In the causative of a monotransitive sentence, the extra noun phrase (causer) appears as the subject, while the subject of the transitive sentence with a direct object becomes an indirect object (causee). If the indirect object functions as a patient causee, it is marked by the accusative-dative postposition *ke/kẽ*. The direct object of the basic transitive verb remains as the direct object of the causative construction, as exemplified in the following examples:

(1302) *rəmes kitab pəṛh-l-əinh*
Ramesh book read-PST-(3H)
S DO
'Ramesh read a book.'

(1303) *masṭər rəmes kẽ kitab*
teacher Ramesh ACC/DAT book
S IO DO
pəṛh-ɔ-l-əinh
read-CAUS I-PST-(3H + 3H)
'The teacher taught Ramesh the book.'

(1304) *rae ji masṭər sə̃ rəmes kə̃ kitab*
Ray HP teacher INSTR Ramesh ACC/DAT book
S OO IO DO
pəṛh-bɔ-l-əinh
read-CAUS II-PST-(3H + 3H)
'Rayji had the teacher teach Ramesh the book.'

On the other hand, if the causee is agentive in function, it becomes an oblique object and is marked by the instrumental postposition *sə/sə̃*, e. g.:

(1305) *nokər gach kaṭ-l-ək*
servant tree cut-PST-(3NH)
S DO
'The servant cut the tree.'

(1306) *malik nokər sə̃ *kẽ gach*
master servant INSTR ACC/DAT tree
S OO DO
kaṭ-ɔ-l-əinh
cut-CAUS I-PST-(3H)
'The master caused the servant to cut the tree.'

(1307) *malik manejər sə̃ nokər sə̃ *kẽ gach*
master manager INSTR servant INSTR ACC/DAT tree
S OO OO DO
kaṭ-bɔ-l-əinh
cut-CAUS II-PST-(3H)
'The master had the manager make the servant cut the tree.'

It should be borne in mind that a handful of transitive verbs, such as *caṭab* 'to lick', *pəṛhəb* 'to read/study', *cikhəb* 'to taste', *khaeb* 'to eat', etc., permit their causees to be marked by either the accusative-dative postposition *ke/kẽ* or by the instrumental postposition *sə/sə̃*, as shown below:

(1308) a. *rəmes bhənsiya ke maus*
Ramesh cook ACC/DAT meat
S IO DO
cikh-ɔ-l-əinh
taste-CAUS I-PST-(3H + 3NH)
'Ramesh caused the cook to taste the meat.'

b. *rəmes bhənsiya sə maus cikh-ɔ-l-əinh*
Ramesh cook INSTR meat taste-CAUS I-PST-(3H)
S OO DO
'Ramesh caused the cook to taste the meat.'

(1309) a. *mæ bacca ke məudh*
mother child ACC/DAT honey
S IO DO
caṭ-əu-l-ək
lick-CAUS I-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'The mother caused the child to lick the honey.'

b. *mæ bacca sə məudh caṭ-əu-l-ək*
mother child INSTR honey lick-CAUS I-PST-(3NH)
S OO DO
'The mother caused the child to lick the honey.'

(1310) a. *rəmes usa ke khəṭṭa bəir*
Ramesh Usha ACC/DAT sour plums
S IO DO
khi-ɔ-l-ək
eat-CAUS I-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'Ramesh fed Usha sour plums.'

b. *rəmes usa sə khəṭṭa bəir*
Ramesh Usha INSTR sour plums
S OO DO
khi-ɔ-l-ək
eat-CAUS I-PST-(3NH)
'Ramesh fed Usha sour plums.'

(1311) a. *babhən rəmes kẽ məntr*
Brahmin Ramesh ACC/DAT mantras
S IO DO
pəṛh-ɔ-l-khinh
chant-CAUS I-PST-(3H + 3H)
'The Brahmin caused Ramesh to chant the mantras.'

b. *babhən rəmes sə̃ məntr*
Brahmin Ramesh INSTR mantras
S OO DO
pəṛh-ɔ-l-khinh
chant-CAUS I-PST-(3H)
'The Brahmin caused Ramesh to chant the mantras.'

Note, however, that the sentences labeled *a* and *b* above differ in meaning – the English translation simply conceals the difference. Thus, sentence [1308a] means that the tasting was done for the benefit of the cook, while sentence [1308b] implies that the tasting was done in order to find out whether the meat tasted good. Sentence [1309a] means that the mother probably spoon-fed the honey to the child, while [1309b] means that the mother either instructed or ordered or even cajoled the child into licking the honey. Sentence [1310a] means that Ramesh fed Usha sour plums because he didn't have better ones, while sentence [1310b] implies that Ramesh forced Usha to eat sour plums against her will. Similarly, sentence [1311a] implies that the aim of the Brahmin was to make Ramesh chant the mantras, while in sentence [1311b] the aim is to get the mantras chanted – Ramesh being only an instrument for the purpose. Thus, the generalization seems to be that the use of the accusative-dative postposition allows the causee to be portrayed as the "beneficiary" of the action, while the use of the instrumental postposition allows the causee to be portrayed as the "instrument" of the action.

9.3.1.3 Causatives of ditransitives

The subject of the noncausative transitive sentence with both indirect and direct objects becomes an oblique object in the corresponding causative construction – to avoid doubling on indirect and direct objects, as it were. The oblique object is marked by the instrumental postposition *sə/ sə̃*, e.g.:

(1312) *mohən ram ke pətr likh-l-ək*
Mohan Ram ACC/DAT letter write-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
S IO DO
'Mohan wrote a letter to Ram.'

(1313) *rəmes mohən sə ram ke pətr*
Ramesh Mohan INSTR Ram ACC/DAT letter
S OO IO DO
likh-ɔ-l-ək
write-CAUS I-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'Ramesh caused Mohan to write a letter to Ram.'

(1314) *sohən ram sə mohən sə̃/dwara ram ke*
Sohan Ram INSTR Mohan INSTR Ram ACC/DAT
S OO OO IO
pətr likh-bɔ-l-ək
letter write-CAUS II-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
DO
'Sohan had Ramesh write a letter to Ram by Mohan.'

(1315) *bhai bəhin ke am de-l-ək*
brother sister ACC/DAT mango give-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
S IO DO
'The brother gave mangoes to the sister.'

(1316) *mæ bhai sə bəhin ke am*
mother brother INSTR sister ACC/DAT mango
S OO IO DO
di-ɔ-l-ək
give-CAUS I-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'The mother caused the brother to give mangoes to the sister.'

(1317) *babu* *mæ* *sə̃* *bhai* *sə̃/dwara* *bəhin* *kẽ*
father mother INSTR brother INSTR sister ACC/DAT
S OO OO IO
am *diə-bɔ-l-əinh*
mango give-CAUS II-PST-(3H + 3NH)
DO
'The father had mother give mangoes to the sister by the brother.'

Before we proceed further, it should be noted that in "second" causative constructions containing multiple causees, the case marking postposition of the causees may optionally be paraphrased with such postpositions as *dwara* 'by', as shown in sentences [1314, 1317], or by *hathẽ* 'by hand'. Consequently, a total of three possibilities emerges:

(a) both causee$_1$ and causee$_2$ may be marked by *sə/sə̃*;
(b) causee$_1$ may be marked by *sə/sə̃* while causee$_2$ is marked by *dwara*; and
(c) causee$_1$ may be marked by *dwara* while causee$_2$ is marked by *sə/sə̃*.

Examples:

(1318) *babu mæ sə̃ bhai sə̃ bəhin kẽ am diə-bɔ-l-khinh*

(1319) *babu mæ sə̃ bhai dwara bəhin kẽ am diə-bɔ-l-khinh*

(1320) *babu mæ dwara bhai sə̃ bəhin kẽ am diə-bɔ-l-khinh*
'The father had mother give mangoes to the sister by the brother.'

Sentence [1318] is quite commonly obtained in native speech – in spite of the repeated use of *sə̃*. The use of *dwara* is a concomitant of the educated, especially Sanskritic, speech. As regards sentences [1319] and [1320], it appears to me that sentence [1320] is preferred to sentence [1319], but more investigation into sociolinguistic variation in Maithili is needed. To mark both the causees by *dwara* (although a theoretical possibility) is simply not done by native speakers of Maithili – not even by those who may choose to be overtly pedantic.

Note also that OO causee(s) may be deleted from the "first" and "second" causative constructions:

(1321) *didi* *bəhin* *sə̃/0* *bhai* *kẽ*
elder sister younger sister INSTR brother ACC/DAT
S OO IO
lətam *di-ɔ-l-khinh*
guava give-CAUS I-PST-(3H + 3NH)
DO
'The elder sister caused the younger sister to give guavas to the brother/The elder sister had guavas given to the brother.'

(1322) *mæ* *didi* *sə̃/0* *bəhin* *sə̃/dwara* ϕ
mother elder sister INSTR younger sister INSTR
S OO OO
bhai *kẽ* *lətam* *diə-bɔ-l-khinh*
brother ACC/DAT guava give-CAUS II-PST-(3H + 3NH)
IO DO
'The mother had the elder sister give guavas to the brother by the younger sister/The mother had the guavas given to the brother.'

9.3.2 Semantics of causation

Judged from the semantic parameter of the degree of closeness between the causer's action and the resultant situation of the causee, Maithili causative constructions perform two semantic functions. These are: direct causation and mediated causation. Both types are described below.

9.3.2.1 Direct causation

By direct causation is meant that there is only one causer for the caused event and that the causer (who is also the subject of the causative construction) directly affects the causee's activity. In Maithili, the semantic function of direct causation is performed by the "first" causative, as exemplified below:

(1323) *jokər* *dhiyaputa* *ke*
clown children ACC/DAT
Causer Causee
hə̃s-ɔ-l-ək
laugh-CAUS I-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'The clown caused the children to laugh.'

(1324) *babhən pujari kẽ bed*
Brahmin devotee ACC/DAT Vedas
Causer Causee
pəṛh-ɔ-l-khinh
chant-CAUS I-PST-(3H + 3H)
'The Brahmin caused the devotee to chant the Vedas.'

(1325) *usa gilas phoṛ-l-ək*
Usha glass break-PST-(3NH)
Causer Causee
'Usha broke the glass.'

9.3.2.2 Mediated causation

Mediated causation means that the caused event is effected by a mediated causer or mediating causers other than by the subject causer. As has been indicated earlier, in Maithili the mediating causers are syntactically the oblique objects marked by the instrumental postposition *səlsə̃*. In Maithili, the semantic function of mediated causation is expressed by the "second" causative:

(1326) *niru ram sə̃ əpən sari məŋ-bɔ-l-əinh*
Niru Ram INSTR REFL sari bring-CAUS II-PST-(3H)
'Niru had Ram bring her sari.'

(1327) *malik nokər sə̃ldwara jən sə̃ khet*
master servant INSTR laborer INSTR field
kəṭ-bɔ-l-əinh
cut-CAUS II-PST-(3H)
'The master had the servant harvest the field by the laborers.'

It is possible to delete the mediating causers from a causative construction; the presence of the "second" causative suffix in the verb automatically implies the use of mediating causers, e. g.:

(1328) *niru əpən sari məŋ-bɔ-l-əinh*
Niru REFL sari bring-CAUS II-PST-(3H)
'Niru had (someone) bring her sari.'

(1329) *malik khet kəṭ-bɔ-l-əinh*
master field cut-CAUS II-PST-(3H)
'The master had (someone) harvest the field (by someone).'

9.4 Passivization

The morphological process of passive verb formation has been discussed in 6.6; here we will deal with the syntax and semantics of passive constructions.

9.4.1 Syntax

The syntactic rule of passive formation in Maithili might be stated as follows:

Rule of passive
(i) Subject/Agent phrase → Oblique Object (i. e., neither the subject nor the direct object) + Instrumental *səlsə̃* 'by'.
(ii) Case-marked Direct Object → Subject + 0 (in other words, the non-case-marked direct object remains a direct object).
(iiia) Main Verb → Main Verb + PSTPCPL *-əl* + a passive auxiliary verb of motion *ja* 'go' (periphrastic passive).
(iiib) Main Verb → Main Verb + *-a* (inflectional passive).
(iiic) Agreement affixes change to reflect derived grammatical relations.
(iv) A change of meaning occurs.
(v) No change of word order occurs.

A set of four rules (i–iv) is required to characterize the passive in Maithili. Rules (i) and (ii) deal with changes in case markings and grammatical relations, while rule (iii) deals with changes in verbal morphology. Rule (iv) deals with change in meaning. Rule (v) is not really a rule but is appended here merely to indicate that word order is not crucial for passivization in Maithili, since the NPs involved are case-marked and hence their grammatical relations/functions are predictable. Any apparent change in word order would automatically suggest that the NP in question has been topicalized.

Since the most distinctive characteristic of the form of passive sentences is their verb phrase, we will now discuss passive verb phrases in detail.

9.4.1.1 Passives of intransitives

Consider the following sentences:

(1330) a. *həm hə̃s-l-əhũ* (Active)
I laugh-PST-(1)
S
'I laughed.'

b. *həm-ra sə̃ nəi hə̃s-ae-l* (Inflectional passive)
I-ACC/DAT INSTR not laugh-PASS-PST-(3NH + 1)
OO
'I was not able to laugh.' (lit.: 'It was not laughed by me.')

c. *həm-ra sə̃ nəi hə̃s-əl*
I-ACC/DAT INSTR not laugh-PSTPCPL
OO
ge-l (Periphrastic passive)
go-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I could not laugh.' (lit.: 'It was not laughed by me.')

(1331) a. *o dəur-əit ch-əith* (Active)
he(H) run-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
S
'He runs'

b. *hun-ka sə̃ nəi dəur-a-it*
he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR not run-PASS-IMPERF
OO
ch-əinh (Inflectional passive)
AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
'He is not able to run.' (lit.: 'It is not run by him.')

c. *hun-ka sə̃ nəi dəur-əl ja-it*
he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR not run-PSTPCPL go-IMPERF
OO
ch-əinh (Periphrastic passive)
AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
'He is not able to run.' (lit.: 'It is not run by him.')

Sentences [1330–1331] demonstrate that both types of passive (i. e., inflectional as well as periphrastic) are derivable from intransitive verb phrases. Typically, the passive sentences have a capabilitative meaning – because the ex-subject/agent (now OO) is present (see 9.4.2 for further discussion). Note also that agreement affixes change according to the general principles of verb agreement, and the word order remains the same.

9.4.1.2 Passives of monotransitives

Transitive verbs with one argument yield passive forms of both types, as illustrated below:

(1332) a. *ram am khəe-l-ək* (Active)
Ram mango eat-PST-(3NH)
S DO
'Rame ate a mango.'

b. *ram sə am nəi khi-əe-l-əik*
Ram INSTR mango not eat-PASS-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
OO DO
(Inflectional passive)
'Ram was not able to eat a mango (A mango was not eaten by Ram).'

c. *ram sə am nəi khae-l*
Ram INSTR mango not eat-PSTPCPL
OO DO
ge-l-əik (Periphrastic passive)
go-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'Ram was not able to eat a mango (A mango was not eaten by Ram).'

(1333) a. *həm hun-ka piṭ-əl-iəinh* (Active)
I he(H)-ACC/DAT beat-PST-(1 + 3H)
S DO
'I beat him.'

b. *həm-ra sə̃ o nəi piṭ-əe-l-ah*
I-ACC/DAT INSTR he(H) not beat-PASS-PST-(3H)
OO S
(Inflectional passive)
'I was not able to beat him (He was not beaten by me).'

c. *həm-ra sə̃ o nəi piṭ-əl*
I-ACC/DAT INSTR he(H) not beat-PSTPCPL
OO S
ge-l-ah (Periphrastic passive)
go-PST-(3H)
'I was not able to beat him (He was not beaten by me).'

9.4.1.3 Passives of ditransitives

Transitive verbs with more than one argument also yield passive forms of both types; usually such transitive verbs will be verbs like *de* 'give', *dekha* 'show', *khia* 'feed', etc. The following examples are illustrative:

(1334) a. *ram hun-ka kitab de-l-khinh* (Active)
Ram he(H)-ACC/DAT book give-PST-(3H + 3H)
S IO DO
'Ram gave him a book.'

b. *ram sə̃ hun-ka kitab nəi*
Ram INSTR he(H)-ACC/DAT book not
OO IO DO
di-əe-l-əinh (Inflectional passive)
give-PASS-PST-(3H)
'Ram was not able to give a book (A book was not given to him by Ram).'

c. *ram sə̃ hun-ka kitab nəi de-l*
Ram INSTR he(H)-ACC/DAT book not give-PSTPCPL
OO IO DO
ge-l-əinh (Periphrastic passive)
go-PST-(3H)
'Ram was not able to give him a book (A book was not given to him by Ram).'

Note that in English, ditransitives give rise to two different types of passives: either the IO or DO may be passivized. Thus, sentence [1335a] may be passivized in two ways, as shown below:

(1335) a. *John gave Mary a book.* (Active)
b. *A book was given to Mary by John.* (Passive)
c. *Mary was given a book by John.* (Passive)

These two options are unavailable in Maithili; the passive forms of [1335a] in Maithili would be:

(1336) a. *jɔn sə̃ meri kẽ kitab di-əe-l-əinh*
John INSTR Mary ACC/DAT book give-PASS-PST-(3H)
OO IO DO
(Inflectional passive)

b. *jɔn sə̃ meri kẽ kitab de-l*
John INSTR Mary ACC/DAT book give-PSTPCPL
OO IO DO
ge-l-əinh (Periphrastic passive)
go-PST-(3H)
'John was able to give Mary a book.'

9.4.1.4 Passives of causatives

Inflectional passive: Since the markers of both the causative and the inflectional passive end in *-a*, the corresponding inflectional passive of an active causative verb form is not permissible in Maithili; in other words, causative forms don't passivize.

(1337) a. *həm dəur-ae-b* (Active; CAUS I)
I run-CAUS I-FUT-(1)
S
'I will cause to run.'

b. *həm-ra sə̃ *dəur-a-ae-t*
**dəur-0-ae-t*
I-ACC/DAT INSTR run-CAUS I-PASS-FUT-(3NH)
OO
(Inflectional passive; CAUS I)
'I will be able to cause to run.'

c. *həm dəur-bae-b* (Active; CAUS II)
I run-CAUS II-FUT-(1)
S
'I will have (s.o.) to cause to run.'

d. *həm-ra sə̃ *dəur-ba-ae-t*
**dəur-b0-ae-t*
I-ACC/DAT INSTR run-CAUS II-PASS-FUT-(3NH)
OO
(Inflectional passive; CAUS II)
'I will be able to have (s.o.) to cause to run.'

(1338) a. *əhã mach mər-ae-b* (Active; CAUS I)
you(H) fish kill-CAUS I-FUT-(2H)
S DO
'You will cause to catch fish.'

b. *əhã sə̃ mach *mər-a-ae-t*
**mər-0-ae-t*
you(H) INSTR fish kill-CAUS I-PASS-FUT-(3NH)
OO DO
(Inflectional passive; CAUS I)
'You will be able to cause to catch fish.'

c. *əhã mach mər-bae-b* (Active; CAUS II)
you(H) fish kill-CAUS II-FUT-(2H)
S DO
'You will have (s.o.) catch fish.'

d. *əhã sə̃ mach *mər-ba-ae-t*
**mər-b0-ae-t*
you(H) INSTR fish kill-CAUS II-PASS-FUT-(3NH)
OO DO
(Inflectional passive; CAUS II)
'You will be able to have (s.o.) to catch fish.'

Periphrastic passive: Periphrastic passive verb forms of the corresponding active causative verb forms in Maithili are permissible.

(1339) a. *bap beṭa ke hə̃s-ɔ-t-əik*
father son ACC/DAT laugh-CAUS I-FUT-(3NH + 3NH)
S DO
(Active; CAUS I)
'The father will cause the son to laugh.'

b. *bap sə̃ beṭa nəi hə̃s-aɔ-l*
father INSTR son not laugh-CAUS I-PSTPCPL
OO S
jəe-t-əik (Periphrastic passive; CAUS I)
go-FUT-(3NH + 3NH)
'The father will not be able to cause the son to laugh (The son will not be caused to laugh by the father).'

c. *malik nokər sə̃ ghoṛa dəur-bɔ-t-ah*
master servant INSTR horse run-CAUS II-FUT-(3H)
S OO DO
(Active; CAUS II)
'The master will have (s.o.) cause the servant to run the horse.'

d. *malik dwara nokər sə̃ ghoṛa nəi*
master INSTR servant INSTR horse not
OO OO DO
dəur-baɔ-l jəe-t-əinh
run-CAUS II-PSTPCPL go-FUT-(3NH + 3H)
(Periphrastic passive; CAUS II)
'The master will not be able to have (s.o.) cause the horse to run by the servant.'

(1340) a. *masṭər rəmes kẽ kitab*
teacher Ramesh ACC/DAT book
S IO DO
pəṛh-ɔ-l-khinh (Active; CAUS I)
read-CAUS I-PST-(3H + 3H)
'The teacher taught the book to Ramesh.'

b. *masṭər sə̃ rəmes kẽ kitab nəi*
teacher INSTR Ramesh ACC/DAT book not
OO IO DO
pəṛh-aɔ-l ge-l-əinh
read-CAUS I-PSTPCPL go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
(Periphrastic passive; CAUS I)
'The teacher was not able to teach the book to Ramesh (The book was not taught to Ramesh by the teacher. Ramesh was not taught the book by the teacher).'

c. *rae ji masṭər sə̃ rəmes kẽ kitab*
Ray HP teacher INSTR Ramesh ACC/DAT book
S OO IO DO
pəṛh-bɔ-l-khinh (Active; CAUS II)
read-CAUS II-PST-(3H + 3H)
'Rayji had the teacher teach Ramesh the book.'

d. *rae ji dwara masṭər sə̃ rəmes kẽ*
Ray HP INSTR teacher INSTR Ramesh ACC/DAT
OO OO IO
kitab
book
DO
nəi pəṛh-baɔ-l ge-l-əinh
not read-CAUS II-PSTPCPL go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
(Periphrastic passive; CAUS II)
'Rayji was not able to have the teacher teach the book to Ramesh.'

9.4.1.5 Passives of compound verbs

Since a compound verb form typically contains a main verb plus a vector verb followed by desinence, a periphrastic passive form of a compound verb would involve the existence of a complex verb phrase consisting of a main verb plus a vector verb plus an auxiliary verb of motion *ja* 'go' followed by appropriate desinence. Most vector verbs in Maithili do not permit the additional auxiliary verb *ja* 'go' to follow; in other words, in general, it is not possible to have a compound verb passivized.

(i) Intransitive pole + Intransitive vector

(1341) a. *o həṭ-l-ah* (Active; simple verb)
he(H) move-PST-(3H)
'He moved.'

b. *o* *həiṭ* *ge-l-ah* (Active; compound verb)
he(H) move go-PST-(3H)
'He moved.'

c. *o* *həṭ-a* *ge-l-ah*
he(H) move-CAUS I go-PST-(3H)
(Active; CAUS I, conjunctive)
'He removed and went.'

d. *o* *həṭ-əl* *ge-l-ah* (Active; gerundial)
he(H) move-PSTPCPL go-PST-(3H)
'He went on moving.' (lit.: 'He went in a state of being removed.')

e. *o* *həṭ-ae-l* *ge-l-ah*
he(H) move-CAUS I-PSTPCPL go-PST-(3H)
(CAUS I; Periphrastic passive)
'He was caused to be moved/He was removed.'

f. *o* *həṭ-bae-l* *ge-l-ah*
he(H) move-CAUS II-PSTPCPL go-PST-(3H)
(CAUS II; Periphrastic passive)
'He was caused to be moved by (s.o.).'

g. **hun-ka sə̃ həṭ-əl ja ge-l-əinh* (Passive; compound verb)

h. **hun-kasə̃ həṭ-ae-l ja ge-l-əinh*
(Passive; CAUS I; compound verb)

i. **hun-ka sə̃ həṭ-bae-l ja ge-l-əinh*
(Passive; CAUS II; compound verb)

j. *hun-ka* *sə̃* *həṭ-əl* *nəi*
he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR move-PSTPCPL not
ge-l-əinh (Passive; simple verb)
go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He was not able to move.'

Sentences [1341g–i] show that compound verbs do not passivize in Maithili. Note that [1341j] is a passive form of a corresponding active sentence [1341a] containing a simple verb.

The other vector verbs such as *ja* 'go', *a* 'come', *uṭh* 'arise', *bəiṭh* 'sit', and *pəṛ* 'lie' (which are all verbs of motion) also do not allow an additional auxiliary verb of motion *ja* 'go' to follow in order to passivize. This fact is illustrated in the following examples:

(1342) a. *o* *cəil* *ge-l-ah* (Active; compound verb)
he(H) walk go-PST-(3H)
'He went away.'

b. **hun-ka* *sə̃* *nəi* *cəl-əl* *ja*
he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR not walk-PSTPCPL go
ge-l-əinh (Passive; compound verb)
go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He was not able to go.'

(1343) a. *o* *cəil* *əe-l-ah* (Active; compound verb)
he(H) walk come-PST-(3H)
'He came back.'

b. **hun-ka* *sə̃* *nəi* *cəl-əl* *a*
he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR not walk-PSTPCPL come
ge-l-əinh (Passive; compound verb)
go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He was not able to come back.'

(1344) a. *o* *khisia* *uṭh-l-ah*
he(H) become angry arise-PST-(3H)
(Active; compound verb)
'He got angry.'

b. **hun-ka* *sə̃* *nəi* *khisiae-l* *uṭhluiṭh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR not angry-PSTPCPL arise
ge-l-əinh (Passive; compound verb)
go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He was not able to get angry.'

(1345) a. *o* *ruis* *bəiṭh-l-ah* (Active; compound verb)
he(H) displease sit-PST-(3H)
'He became displeased.'

b. **hun-ka* *sə̃* *nəi* *rus-əl* *bəiṭh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR not displease-PSTPCPL sit
ge-l-əinh (Passive; compound verb)
go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He was not able to be displeased.'

(1346) a. *o* *khəis* *pəṛ-l-ah* (Active; compound verb)
he(H) fall lie-PST-(3H)
'He fell down.'

b. **hun-ka* *sə̃* *nəi* *khəs-əl* *pəṛ*
he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR not fall-PSTPCPL lie
ge-l-əinh (Passive; compound verb)
go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He was not able to fall down.'

(ii) Transitive pole + Transitive vector

(1347) a. *o khəe-l-əith* (Active; simple verb)
he(H) eat-PST-(3H)
'He ate.'
b. *o kha le-l-əith* (Active; compound verb)
he(H) eat take-PST-(3H)
'He ate up.'
c. *hun-ka sə̃ nəi khae-l*
he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR not eat-PSTPCPL
ge-l-əinh (Passive; simple verb)
go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He was not able to eat.'
d. **hun-ka sə̃ nəi khae-l le*
he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR not eat-PSTPCPL take
ge-l-əinh (Passive; compound verb)
go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He was not able to eat.'

(1348) a. *həm hun-ka de-l-iəinh*
I he(H)-ACC/DAT give-PST-(1 + 3H)
(Active; simple verb)
'I gave to him.'
b. *həm hun-ka də de-l-iəinh*
I he(H)-ACC/DAT give give-PST-(1 + 3H)
(Active; compound verb)
'I gave to him.'
c. *o de-l ge-l-ah* (Passive; simple verb)
he(H) give-PSTPCPL go-PST-(3H)
'He was given.'
d. **o de-l də ge-l-ah*[8]
he(H) give-PSTPCPL give go-PST-(3H)
(Passive; compound verb)
'He was given.'

Sentences [1347d] and [1348d] demonstrate that Maithili does not permit the compound verbs to passivize. [1347c] and [1348c] are passives of the corresponding active sentences containing simple verbs, i.e., of sentences [1347a] and [1348a] respectively.

9.4.1.6 Passives of conjunct verbs

Like compound verbs, conjunct verbs do not passivize:

(1349) a. *o prənam kəe-l-əinh*
he(H) greeting do-PST-(3H)
'He greeted'
b. **hun-ka sə̃ prənam kəe-l*
he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR greeting do-PSTPCPL
ge-l-əinh
go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He was able to greet'

(1350) a. *o swikar kə le-l-əinh*
he(H) acceptance do take-PST-(3H)
'He accepted.'
b. **hun-ka sə̃ swikar kəe-l le*
he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR acceptance do-PSTPCPL take
ge-l-əinh
go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He was able to accept.'

Note that the passive of a conjunct verb consisting of more than one verb is also blocked, as shown in [1350b].

9.4.1.7 Passives of "dative" subject constructions

The so-called "dative" subject constructions do not passivize in Maithili – for the simple reason that they express a non-volitional act:

(1351) a. *həm-ra bokhar lag-əl*
I-ACC/DAT fever attach-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I caught fever.'
b. **həm-ra sə̃ bokhar ləg-ae-l* (Inflectional passive)
c. **həm-ra sə̃ bokhar lag-əl gel* (Periphrastic passive)
*'It was caught fever by me.'

(1352) a. *to-ra math dukha-it*
You(NH)-ACC/DAT head ache-IMPERF
ch-əuk
AUX-PRES-(3NH + 2NH)
'You have a headache.'

b. **to-ra sə̃ math dukh-ae-l* (Inflectional passive)
c. **to-ra sə̃ math dukhae-l ja-it ch-əuk* (Periphrastic passive)
*'It is had a headache by you.'

9.4.2 Semantics

It was indicated in chapter 6.6 that a passive sentence with the ex-subject/agent present conveys a capabilitative meaning; the passive with agent is usually in the negative and expresses the agent's incapability to do something.

(1353) a. *həm-ra sə kiuch nəi kəe-l*
I-ACC/DAT INSTR something not do-PSTPCPL
ge-l
go-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I was not able to do anything (Nothing was done by me).'
b. *hun-ka sə̃ rəud dis nəi*
he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR sunshine toward not
tak-əl ge-l-əinh
look-PSTPCPL go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He was not able to look out into the sun.' (lit.: 'It was not looked out into the sun by him.')

Note that the corresponding active sentences do not convey the capabilitative meaning:

(1354) a. *həm kiuch nəi kəe-l-əhũ*
I something not do-PST-(1)
'I did nothing.' (*'I could not do anything.')
b. *o rəud dis nəi tək-l-əith*
he(H) sunshine toward not look-PST-(3H)
'He didn't look at the sunshine.' (*'He couldn't look at the sunshine.')

Also, agentless passive sentences do not convey the capabilitative meaning:

(1355) a. *ghar bənae-l ge-l*
house build-PSTPCPL go-PST-(3NH)
'The house was built.' (*'The house could be built.')

b. *hun-ka ciṭṭhi likh-əl*
he(H)-ACC/DAT letter write-PSTPCPL
ge-l-əinh
go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'The letter was written to him.' (*'The letter could be written to him.')

Pandharipande (1981: 120–134) demonstrates that in many Indo-Aryan languages, such as Hindi, Marathi, Nepali, Kashmiri, and Panjabi, the passive constructions do not replicate the functions of the modal constructions which also convey the capabilitative meaning. She concludes that the passive in Hindi, for example, indicates an "internally determined capability", while the modal verb *pana* 'to find' conveys an "externally determined capability" coupled with the agent's efforts; the modal verb *səkna* 'can/be able to', on the other hand is "neutral as to whether the capability is determined by internal or external conditions or whether or not the agent put in any effort to accomplish the task" (all quotations 1981: 123).
The above observations also hold true for Maithili, as is shown below:

Passive

(1356) a. *hun-ka sə̃ maũs nəi khae-l*
he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR meat not eat-PSTPCPL
ge-l-əinh
go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He was not able to eat meat (his teeth were too weak to chew the meat).'
b. *ok-ra sə̃ am nəi corae-l*
he(NH)-ACC/DAT INSTR mango not steal-PSTPCPL
ge-l-əik
go-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'He was not able to steal the mangoes (he considered it an immoral act).'

Modals

pa-eb 'to find'

(1357) a. *həm am nəi tor-ə pəe-l-əhũ*
I mango not pluck-INF find-PST-(1)
'I was not able to pluck the mangoes (in spite of my best efforts).'

b. *tõ ə-hu ber pərikcha nəi pas kər-ə*
You(NH) this-EMPH time examination not pass do-INF
pəe-b-e
find-FUT-(2NH)
'You won't be able to pass the examination even this time (in spite of your efforts).'

sək-əb 'can/be able to'

(1358) a. *həm-ər beṭa ai skul nəi ja-0*
I-GENIT son today school not go-INF
sək-əl
can-PST-(3NH + 1)
'My son was not able to go school today (he had a fever).'
b. *o ə-hu ber əmerika nəi ja-0*
he(H) this-EMPH time America not go-INF
sək-l-ah
can-PST-(3H)
'He couldn't go to America even this year (the scholarship was not offered to him again).'

Passives also perform a few other functions. For instance, in Maithili, passive constructions are obligatorily used to express the highest degree of honorificity; usually this would involve the use of the second-person high honorofic pronoun-subject:

(1359) a. *əpne bəis-əl ja-elo*
You(HH) sit-PSTPCPL go-IMP-(2HH)
'Please be seated.'
b. *bhojən kəe-l ja-elo*
meal do-PSTPCPL go-IMP-(2HH)
'Please eat.' (lit.: 'May it be eaten by you.')

Finally, passive constructions are used to convey the meaning of customary or conventional actions:

(1360) a. *əghən me dhan kaṭ-əl ja-it*
Agahan LOC paddy cut-PSTPCPL go-IMPERF
ch-əik
AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'Paddy is harvested in the month of Agahan.'

b. *gosaĩ ghər me jutta lə kə nəi ge-l*
God house LOC shoes take do-INF not go-PSTPCPL
ja-it ch-əik
go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'Shoes are not worn in the worshipping room.' (lit.: 'It is not gone with shoes on in the God's house.')

9.5 Coordination

Coordination involves the linking of two (or more) categories of expression with the use of coordinators or coordinating conjunctions. The coordinators assign equal rank to the conjuncts.

Maithili permits the following types of coordination to occur at the phrasal as well as sentential levels:

(i) Conjunction: *a* (in written styles *aor*, *ebam*, *tətha*) 'and'
(ii) Adversative conjunction: *muda/məgər/pərəntu* (in written styles *pərənc*)/*lekin* 'but'
(iii) Disjunction: *ki/ya/əthba/ba/cahe* 'or'
(iv) Negative disjunction: *ne* … *ne* 'neither … nor'

Each of the coordination types and coordinators listed above will be discussed in detail below.

9.5.1 Conjunction: *a* 'and'

The coordinator *a* permits coordination to occur at both the sentential and phrasal levels, e. g.:

(1361) [$_S$ *gari khuj-əl a həm hath jor-l-əhũ*]
train open-PST-(3NH) and I hand join-PST-(1)
'The train started and I put the palms of my hands together to bid farewell.'

(1362) *o* [$_{VP}$ *hə̃s-l-ah a hath hilə-l-əinh*]$^{\emptyset}$
he(H) laugh-PST-(3H) and hand shake-PST-(3H)
'He smiled and waved.'

(1363) *tõ* [$_{PP}$ *həm-ra* (*sə̃*) *a* *jənardən* *sə̃*] *gəpp*
You(MH) I-ACC/DAT from and Janardan from talk
kəe-l-əh
do-PST-(2MH)
'You spoke to me and to Janardan.'

(1364) [$_{NP}$ *jənardən a radha*] *aib ge-l-ah*
Janardan and Radha come go-PST-(3H)
'Janardan and Radha arrived.'

(1365) a. *əhã* [$_{AP}$ *dhənik a dularu*] *ch-i tə*
You(H) rich and spoiled be-PRES-(2H) then
əpna ghər me
REFL house in
'You may be rich and spoiled in your own house.'
b. *o* [$_{AP}$ *dhənik a məshur*] *dunu/seho ch-əith*
he(H) rich and famous both/also be-PRES-(3H)
'He is both rich and famous.'

Sentences [1361–1365] illustrate that two independent clauses as well as two verb phrases, adjective phrases, noun phrases, and postpositional phrases may be coordinated with *a*. However, sentential and phrasal coordinations by *a* are permissible only if the two conjuncts exhibit similarity in topic and structure, as exemplified below:

(1366) a. *həm-ra* [$_{NP}$ *pəṛhai a likhai*] *bəḍ pəsin*
I-ACC/DAT reading and writing lot like
əich
be-PRES-(3NH + 1)
'I like reading and writing a lot.'
b. [$_{NP}$ *niru a kəmpyuṭər*] *sətrənj khel-l-ək*
Niru and computer chess play-PST-(3NH)
'Niru and the computer played chess.'
c. *[$_{NP}$ *ramsagər a chə̃ṛi*] *ghoṛa ke mar-l-ək*
Ramsagar and stick horse ACC/DAT beat-PST-(3NH)
*'Ramsagar and the stick beat the horse.'
d. *[$_{NP}$ *usa a cabhi*] *sənuk khol-l-ək*
Usha and key chest open-PST-(3NH)
*'Usha and the key opened the chest.'

(1367) *[$_{S}$ *həm-ər beṭa khəstæl əich a*
I-GENIT son ill be-PRES-(3NH + 1) and
nepal-ək rajdhani kaṭhmanḍu ch-əik]
Nepal-GENIT capital Kathmandu be-PRES-(3NH)
*'My son is ill and Kathmandu is the capital of Nepal.'

The order of conjuncts may not be reversed if the conjunctive coordinator *a* conveys a sequential or causal relationship, as shown in sentences [1368–1369]:

(1368) a. [$_{S}$ *əhã həm-ər kərja dhə di-ə a*
You(H) I-GENIT loan keep give-IMP-(2H) and
ja-u]
go-IMP-(2H)
'You repay my loan and (then) go.'
b. *[$_{S}$ *əhã ja-u a həm-ər kərja dhə*
You(H) go-IMP-(2H) and I-GENIT loan keep
di-ə]
give-IMP-(2H)
*'You go and repay my loan.'

(1369) a. [$_{S}$ *o khəis pəṛ-l-ah a hun-k-ər haṛ ṭuiṭ*
he(H) fall lie-PST-(3H) and he(H)-GENIT bone break
ge-l-əinh]
go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He fell down and (consequently) broke his bone.'
b. *[$_{S}$ *hun-k-ər haṛ ṭuiṭ ge-l-əinh a*
he(H)-GENIT bone break go-PST-(3NH + 3H) and
o khəis pəṛ-l-ah]
he(H) fall lie-PST-(3H)
*'He broke his bone and fell down.'

Otherwise, the order of conjuncts may be reversed without destroying their meaning:

(1370) a. [$_{S}$ *niru cah pib-əit əich a həm*
Niru tea drink-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH) and I
kəphi]
coffee
'Niru drinks tea and I (drink) coffee.'

b. [$_S$ *həm kɔphi pib-əit ch-i a niru*
I coffee drink-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1) and Niru
cah]
tea
'I drink coffee and Niru (drinks) tea.'

(1371) a. [$_S$ *həm sinema dekh-l-əhũ a tõ sərkəs*]
I cinema see-PST-(1) and you(NH) circus
'I saw the movie and you (saw) the circus.'
b. [$_S$ *tõ sərkəs dekh-l-e a həm sinema*]
you(NH) circus see-PST-(2NH) and I cinema
'You saw the circus and I (saw) the cinema.'

Note, however, that the conjunct beginning with a coordinator cannot be moved in front of the preceding conjunct:

(1372) **a tõ sərkəs dekh-l-e həm sinema.*

(1373) **a həm sinema dekh-l-əhũ tõ sərkəs.*

Occasionally, coordination of more than two conjuncts is achieved by a zero strategy:

(1374) *həm* [$_{NP}$ *cura dəhi ā̃car*] *khəe-l-əhũ*
I flattened rice curd pickle eat-PST-(1)
'I ate flattened rice, curd, and pickle.'

(1375) *jəldisə* [$_{NP}$ *bhat dail tərkari*] *kər-u*
quickly rice lentils vegetable do-IMP-(2H)
'Cook rice, lentils, and vegetable soon.'

In general, however, *a* is used when more than two conjuncts are coordinated:

(1376) [$_{NP}$ *jənardən radha a ramswərup*] *aib ge-l-ah*
Janardan Radha and Ramswaroop come go-PST-(3H)
'Janardan, Radha, and Ramswaroop arrived.'

Negation of either or both conjuncts at the sentential level is possible:

(1377) [$_S$ *o nəi əe-l-ah a həm cəil de-l-əhũ*]
he(H) not come-PST-(3H) and I walk give-PST-(1)
'He didn't come and (then) I went away.'

(1378) [$_S$ *o cəil ge-l-ah a həm rəh-ə nəi*
he(H) walk go-PST-(3H) and I live-INF not
kəh-əl-iəinh]
say-PST-(1 + 3H)
'He left and I didn't ask him to stay.'

(1379) [$_S$ *o nəi rəh-l-ah a həm rəh-ə nəi*
he(H) not live-PST-(3H) and I live-INF not
kəh-əl-iəinh]
say-PST-(1 + 3H)
'He didn't stay and I didn't ask him to stay (either).'

Finally, a regular feature of coordinate conjunction is the deletion of shared items. Thus, for instance, the subject of the conjunct linked with the coordinator *a* may be deleted if it is coreferential with that of the preceding conjunct:

(1380) [$_S$ *həm khæ-b a 0 bhag-əb*]
I eat-FUT-(1) and run-FUT-(1)
'I will eat and go quickly.'

(1381) [$_S$ *həm kha-it ch-i a tõ/*0*
I eat-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1) and you(NH)
j-o]
go-IMP-(2NH)
'I am eating and (in the meantime) you go/*I am eating and (in the meantime) 0 go.'

The predicate deletion also occurs:

(1382) [$_S$ *radha moṭ ch-əith a ramsərup seho* 0 0]
Radha fat be-PRES-(3H) and Ramswaroop also
'Radha is fat and Ramswaroop too (is fat).'

(1383) [$_S$ *həm ai ṭaip kər-əb a* 0 *kailh seho* 0 0]
I today type do-FUT-(1) and tomorrow also
'I will type today and tomorrow also (I will type).'

Adverb deletion may also occur:

(1384) [$_S$ *kailh o bhukhl-e rəih ge-l-ah a* 0
Yesterday he(H) hungry-EMPH live go-PST-(3H) and
həm seho]
I also
'Yesterday he remained hungry and (yesterday) I too.'

9.5.2 Adversative conjunction: *muda* 'but'

When two conjuncts are coordinated by an adversative conjunction *muda*, it is implied that a contrast or an opposition exists between the two conjuncts. Mostly, *muda* permits the coordination to occur at the sentential level:

(1385) [$_S$ *jənardən dhənik ch-əith muda tõ gərib*
Janardan rich be-PRES-(3H) but You(NH) poor
ch-e]
be-PRES-(2NH)
'Janardan is rich but you are poor.'

(1386) [$_S$ *muṛiba me bərkha bhe-l muda ekrahi*
Muṛiba LOC rain become-PST-(3NH) but Ekrahi
me sukhl-e rəh-əl]
LOC dry-EMPH remain-PST-(3NH)
'It rained in Muriba but it remained dry in Ekrahi.'

(1387) [$_S$ *əŋna me ijot əich muda ghər me*
courtyard LOC light be-PRES-(3NH) but house LOC
ənhar (əich)]
dark be-PRES-(3NH)
'It is bright in the courtyard but dark inside the house.'

Negation of either or both conjuncts at the sentential level is possible:

(1388) [$_S$ *radha patər nəi ch-əith muda o bəḍ*
Radha thin not be-PRES-(3H) but he(H) very
phurtigər ch-əith]
active be-PRES-(3H)
'Radha is not slim but he is very active.'

(1389) [$_S$ *həm əhā kẽ nɔt de-l-əhū*
I You(H) ACC/DAT invitation give-PST-(1 + 2H)
muda əhā nəi əe-l-əhū]
but You(H) not come-PST-(2H)
'I invited you but you didn't come.'

(1390) [$_S$ *u besi paṛhəl nəi əich muda*
he(NH) much educated not be-PRES-(3NH) but
u buṛiban seho nəi əich]
he(NH) stupid also not be-PRES-(3NH)
'He is not very educated but he is not stupid either.'

Sentences [1385–1390] above express the notion of contrast or opposition; as shown in sentences [1391–1393] *muda* also conveys a denial of expectation:

(1391) [$_S$ *kuṭum dhənik nəi ch-əith muda 0 bhoj*
relative rich not be-PRES-(3H) but feast
kəe-l-əinh nəmhər]
do-PST-(3H) big
'The relative (of mine) is not rich but he offered a big feast.'

(1392) [$_S$ *chɔ̃ṛa ch-əl patər muda 0 kud-əl*
boy be-PST-(3NH) thin but jump-PST-(3NH)
bəḍ]
much
'The boy was thin but he jumped a lot.'

(1393) [$_S$ *pəhəlman ch-əl-ah bəukar muda 0 hair*
wrestler be-PST-(3H) strong but defeat
ge-l-ah]
go-PST-(3H)
'The wrestler was strong but he lost.'

Similarily, *muda* conveys a preventive meaning if the first conjunct contains a counterfactual conditional *-it*:

(1394) [$_S$ *həm dhan d-it-iəuk muda cabhi*
I paddy give-COND-(1 + 2NH) but key
mənejər ləg ch-əik]
manager near be-PRES-(3NH)
'I would have given you the paddy but the keys are with the manager.'

(1395) [$_S$ *o-ho babadham ja-it muda*
he(NH)-EMPH Babadham go-COND but
ok-ra ḍhəu-e nəi
he(NH)-ACC/DAT money-EMPH not
ch-əik]
be-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'He too would have gone to the Babadham but he has no money.'

(1396) [$_{S}$ *həm əb-it-əhũ muda həm-ra bəs chuiṭ*
I come-COND-(1) but I-ACC/DAT bus leave
ge-l]
go-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I would have come but I missed the bus.'

Thus far we have dealt with the adversative conjunction at the sentential level. However, adjectival phrasal adversatives are permissible in Maithili:

(1397) *i chɔ̃ṛa* [$_{AP}$ *gərib muda tejgər*] *əich*
this boy poor but intelligent be-PRES-(3NH)
'The boy is poor but intelligent.'

(1398) *mach əich* [$_{AP}$ *swədgər muda nungər* (*seho*)]
fish be-PRES-(3NH) tasteful but salty also
'The fish is tasteful but (also) salty.'

Occasionally, a few postpositional phrasal adversatives are formed by a zero strategy:

(1399) *həm* [$_{PP}$ *to-ra nəi ok-ra*]
I you(NH)-ACC/DAT not he(NH)-ACC/DAT
dekh-əl-iəik
see-PST-(1 + 3NH)
'I saw him, not you.'

(1400) *tõ* [$_{PP}$ *hun-ka səŋe nəi həm-ra*
you(NH) he(H)-ACC/DAT COMIT not I-ACC/DAT
səŋe] *cəl-0*
COMIT walk-IMP-(2NH)
'Come with me, not him.'

Note, however, that sentences [1399–1400] may be viewed as examples of reduced sentential coordination in that these are equally analyzable at the sentence level, showing the use of a separate strategy of *nəi* ... *bəru*/*bəlki* 'not ... but/on the contrary':

(1401) [$_{S}$ *həm to-ra nəi dekh-əl-iəuk bəru 0*
I you(NH)-ACC/DAT not see-PST-(1 + 2NH) but
ok-ra dekh-əl-iəik]
he(NH)-ACC/DAT see-PST-(1 + 3NH)
'I didn't see you but I saw him.'

(1402) [$_{S}$ *hun-ka səŋe nəi j-o*
he(H)-ACC/DAT COMIT not go-IMP-(2NH)
bəru həmra səŋe cəl-0]
but I-ACC/DAT COMIT walk-IMP-(2NH)
'Do not go with him; on the contrary, come with me.'

9.5.3 Disjunction

The disjunctive particles *ki* 'or', *ki* ... *ki* 'either ... or', etc., express the idea that at most one of the two alternatives can be realized:

(1403) [$_{NP}$ *cah ki kɔphi*] *ki pi-əb 0?*
tea or coffee what drink-FUT-(2H)
'What will you drink – tea or coffee?'

(1404) 0 [$_{DET}$ *du ki tin*] *din lag-ət*
two or three day take-FUT-(3NH + 1)
'It will take (me) two or three days.'

(1405) [$_{S}$ 0 *dudh le-b ki 0 dəhi 0*]?
milk take-FUT-(2H) or curd
'What will you take – milk or curd?'

(1406) [$_{S}$ 0 *ki pəṛh-u ki 0 məhis cəra-u*]
either read-IMP-(2H) or buffalo graze-IMP-(2H)
'Either (you) study or (you) graze the buffalo.'

(1407) [$_{S}$ 0 0 *cahe dudh di-ə ki 0 0 dəhi 0*]
either milk give-IMP-(2H + 1) or curd
'(You) give (me) either milk or curd.'

(1408) [$_{S}$ *ya tə 0 əgari pəṛh-0 əthba 0 nokri*
either DEF further read-IMP-(2NH) or job
kər-0]
do-IMP-(2NH)
'Either (you) study further or take a job.'

Sentences [1403–1404] illustrate the use of unmarked disjunctive *ki* at the phrasal level: sentence [1405], however, receives a sentential-level interpretation because of the inclusion of the verb phrase in it. Sentences [1406–1408] illustrate that marked disjunctives consisting of iterated particles (e. g., *ki* ... *ki*; *cahe* ... *ki*; *ya* (*tə*) ... *əthba*, and various combinations

thereof) are usually used at the sentential level. Sentences [1403–1408] show that disjunctives are used to provide exclusive alternatives; nevertheless, disjunctives may also be understood as inclusive, i. e., more than two alternatives may be available:

(1409) $[_{S}$ 0 *dəhi le-b ki 0 dudh 0 ki 0 chalhi 0]?*
curd take-FUT-(2H) or milk or curd cream
'What will you take: curd, milk, or curd cream?'

Negation of the second disjunct is possible with both the unmarked and marked disjunctive particles:

(1410) $[_{S}$ *dəbai d-iəunh ki nəi 0]?*
medicine give-IMP-(1 + 3H) or not
'Should I give him the medicine or not?'

(1411) $[_{S}$ *nɔt tə de-l-iəinh əut-t-ah*
invitation DEF give-PST-(1 + 3H) come-FUT-(3H)
ki nəi 0]?
or not
'I did invite him: will he come or not?'

As shown in [1410–1411], in interrogative sentences the verb of the second disjunct is deleted; in indicative sentences, however, the verb is not deleted, but rather repeated in the negative disjunct, as exemplified in [1412–1413]:

(1412) $[_{S}$ *ki pəṛh-u ki nəi pəṛh-u] – həm-ra*
either read-IMP-(2H) or not read-IMP-(2H) I-ACC/DAT
kon mətləb
which meaning
'Either you (should) study or not study – I have nothing to do with it.'

(1413) $[_{S}$ o *əu-t-ah ki nəi əu-t-ah] – nəi jain*
he(H) come-FUT-(3H) or not come-FUT-(3H) not know
'I don't know whether he will come or not.'

9.5.4 Negative disjunction

Negative disjunction is formed by the use of iterated particles *ne ... ne* 'neither ... nor'; the iterated particles express the idea that none of the alternatives provided in the disjuncts is available. The following examples are illustrative:

(1414) $[_{NP}$ *ne nun ne tel] kiuch nəi əich*
neither salt nor oil something not be-PRES-(3NH + 1)
'I have nothing – neither salt nor oil.'

(1415) $[_{AP}$ *ne lal ne piər] kono nəi bheṭ-əl*
neither red nor yellow any not meet-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I got none – neither red nor yellow.'

(1416) $[_{PP}$ *ne to-ra ne ok-ra]*
neither you(NH)-ACC/DAT nor he(NH)-ACC/DAT
kəkro nəi de-b-əuk
any one not give-FUT-(1 + 2NH)
'I will give to no one – neither to you nor to him.'

(1417) $[_{S}$ *ne radha əe-l-ah ne ramswərup 0]*
neither Radha come-PST-(3H) nor Ramswaroop
'Neither Radha nor Ramswaroop came.'

(1418) $[_{S}$ *ai həm ne cah pi-l-əhũ ne 0 0 kɔphi 0]*
today I neither tea drink-PST-(1) nor coffee
'Today I drank neither tea nor coffee.'

(1419) $[_{S}$ *hun-ka ne dhən ch-əinh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT neither wealth be-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
ne 0 rup 0 ne 0 bidya 0]
nor beauty nor education
'He has neither wealth nor beauty nor education.'

A *ne ... ne* sentence in Maithili may also be analyzable as *ne ... a ne* 'not ... and not / not ... and also not':

(1420) $[_{S}$ *ne o sigreṭ pib-əit ch-əith*
neither he(H) cigarette drink-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
a ne supari kha-it ch-əith]
and nor betel nut eat-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'Neither does he smoke nor chew betel nut.' (lit.: 'He does not smoke and also does not chew betel nuts.')

9.6 Subordination

Subordination involves the conjunction of two clauses with the help of subordinators or subordinating conjunctions. Unlike coordinators, the subordinators assign unequal rank to the conjoined clauses and render one of the clauses subordinate to the other.

The subordinators in Maithili are of two types:

(i) Full words with lexical content, e. g., *jəkhən* 'when'; *jɔ̃* 'if'; *je* 'that'; *kiæk tə* 'because', etc. Examples are:

(1421) *həm jən-əit ch-i* je *o*
I know-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1) COMP he(H)
mar-əl jəe-t-ah
kill-PSTPCPL go-FUT-(3H)
'I know that he will be killed.'

(1422) *u chɔ̃ṛa* je *kailh æ-l ch-əl*
that boy REL yesterday come-PERF AUX-PST-(3NH)
bəḍ cəlak ch-əl
very clever be-PST-(3NH)
'The boy who came yesterday was very clever.'

(1423) *həm səb cəil əe-l-əhũ* kiæk tə *nokri nəi*
I PL walk come-PST-(1) because job not
bheṭ-əl
meet-PST-(3NH + 1)
'We came back because we couldn't get a job.'

(1424) jəkhən *həm ghər pəhũc-l-əhũ əhã sutəl*
when I house arrive-PST-(1) you(H) asleep
ch-əl-əhũ
be-PST-(2H)
'When I arrived home, you were asleep.'

(ii) Non-finite verb forms which lack agreement categories by definition:

(1425) *u mach kin-ə bəjar ge-l*
he(NH) fish buy-INF market go-PST-(3NH)
'He went to the market to buy fish.'

(1426) a. *o bhəir din likh-əit rəh-l-ah*
he(H) whole day write-PRESPTPCL remain-PST-(3H)
'He remained writing the whole day.'
b. *u mæ-k de-l roṭi*
he(NH) mother-GENIT give-PSTPCPL bread
khəe-l-ək
eat-PST-(3NH)
'He ate the bread that the mother gave.'

Three types of subordinate clauses will be described here: complement clauses, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses.

9.6.1 Complement clauses

A complement clause is a clause which "completes" (i. e., fulfills a subcategorization restriction on) an accompanying lexical head. Such a subordinate clause may function as a complement of the subject or as a complement of the object, as illustrated in sentences [1427–1428]:

(1427) a. [$_{S1}$ *i* [N *bat* [$_{S2}$ je *ḍakṭər əhã kẽ nəi*
this matter COMP doctor You(H) ACC/DAT not
jɔ̃c-l-əinh]] *kəkro nik nəi*
examine-PST-(3H + 2H) anyone good not
ləg-l-əik]
feel-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'No one liked the fact that the doctor didn't exam
fact that the doctor didn't examine you displease
b. [$_{S1}$ *həm i* [N *khəbər* [$_{S2}$ je *ramsagər em e pa*
I this news COMP Ramsagar M.A. pass
bhə ge-l]] *jerməni me sun-l-əhũ*]
become go-PST-(3NH) Germany LOC hear-PST-(1)
'I heard the news that Ramsagar passed the M.A. examination in Germany.'

(1428) a. *həm-ra V bujhae-l* [je *əhã khisia*
I-ACC/DAT feel-PST-(3NH + 1) COMP you(H) be angry
ge-l-əhũ]
go-PST-(2H)
'I felt that you became angry.'
b. *o V cah-əit ch-əith* [je
he(H) want-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H) COMP
jəmæ ḍakṭər ho-inh]
son-in-law doctor become-OPT-(3H + 3H)
'He wants his son-in-law to be a doctor.'

9.6.1.1 Complementizers

The complementizers in Maithili are *je* or *ki* or even *je ki* – all meaning 'that'; *je*, however, is the most common complementizer. It is quite likely

that historically the complementizers derive from, and therefore resemble, the relative pronoun *je*[10] 'that/who' and the interrogative pronoun *ki* 'what'. The following examples exemplify the complementizers:

(1429) *o kəh-l-əinh [je/ki/je ki əhã cəil ja-u]*
he(H) say-PST-(3H) COMP you(H) walk go-IMP-(2H)
'he told me that I go/He asked me to go.'

(1430) *həm hun-ka puch-əl-iəinh [je/ki/je ki əhã*
I he(H)-ACC/DAT ask-PST-(1 + 3H) COMP you(H)
ki khæ-b]
what eat-FUT-(2H)
'I asked him what he would like to eat.'

(1431) *əhã agrəh kər-iəunh [je/ki/je ki rəih*
you(H) request do-IMP-(2H + 3H) COMP live
ja-ith]
go-OPT-(3H)
'Please ask him to stay over.'

Alternatively, some complement clauses, especially the object complements, may have no complementizers at all:

(1432) *o həm-ra puch-l-əinh [kətə ja rəhəl*
he(H) I-ACC/DAT ask-PST-(3H + 1) where go PROG
ch-ī]
AUX-PRES-(2H)
'He asked me where I was going.'

(1433) *u dhər də baj-əl [ai nəi*
he(NH) promptly speak-PST-(3NH) today not
rəh-əb]
live-FUT-(1)
'He replied promptly that he would not stay over today.'

(1434) *həm kəh-əl-iəik [ekhn-e cəil j-o]*
I say-PST-(1 + 3NH) now-EMPH walk go-IMP-(2NH)
'I asked him to go away at once.'

A few words should be said about the distribution of the complementizer. Usually, the complementizer occurs clause-initially in an object complement irrespective of the type of the subordinate clause:

(1435) *həm-ra bujhæ-l [je math*
I-ACC/DAT feel-PST-(3NH + 1) COMP head
dukha-it əich]
ache-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 1)
'I felt that I had a headache.'

(1436) *həm-hũ kəh-əl-iəik [je bhag-0]*
I-EMPH say-PST-(1 + 3NH) COMP run-IMP-(2NH)
'Even I asked him to get out.'

(1437) *o puch-l-əinh [je kaṭhmanḍu kəhia*
he(H) ask-PST-(3H + 1) COMP Kathmandu when
jæ-b]
go-FUT-(2H)
'He asked me when I would go to Kathmandu.'

However, the complementizer is not permitted to occur clause-initially in a subject complement clause:

(1438) **[je/ki/jeki əhã əuŋhã ge-l-əhũ] se jhuṭh*
COMP You(H) feel drowsy go-PST-(2H) that lie
(əich)
is
'That you dozed off is a lie.'

(1439) **[je/ki/jeki ḍakṭər-ək riporṭ nik ch-əl]*
COMP doctor-GENIT report good be-PST-(3NH)
se bat səb bujh-əuth
that matter all realize-IMP-(3H)
'Let all realize that the doctor's report was good/That the doctor's report was good should be realized by all.'

On the other hand, the subject complement clause allows the complementizer to occur in non-clause-initial position if the complement clause is declarative:

(1440) *[ḍakṭər-ək riport je nik ch-əl] se*
doctor-GENIT report COMP good be-PST-(3NH) that
bat səb bujh-əuth
matter all realize-IMP-(3H)
'That the doctor's report was good should be realized at all.'

(1441) *[*ramsagər* je *kəhia pas bhe-l*] *se*
Ramsagar COMP when pass become-PST-(3NH) that
bat həm nəi jən-l-əhũ
matter I not know-PST-(1)
'I don't know when Ramsagar passed the examination.'

But, the object complement clause does not permit the complementizer to occur in non-clause-initial position no matter what sentence type the subordinate clause may be:

(1442) *həm puch-əl-iəik* *[*ke je əich*]
I ask-PST-(1 + 3NH) who COMP be-PRES-(3NH)
'I asked (him) who he was.'

(1443) *həm kəh-əl-iəinh* *[*cəil je a-u*]
I say-PST-(1 + 3H) walk COMP come-IMP-(2H)
'I asked him to come.'

(1444) *həm kəh-əl-iəinh* *[*am je bəḍ miṭh*
I say-PST-(1 + 3H) mango COMP very sweet
ch-əl]
be-PST-(3NH)
'I told him that the mango was very sweet.'

9.6.1.2 Complement types

Maithili has four complement types. These are: (i) *je*-complement; (ii) Infinitival complement; (iii) Genitive-gerundial (i. e., nominalized) complement; and (iv) Participial complement.

(i) *je*-complement. As indicated above, the *je*-type complement may be a subject or an object complement. The most distinctive characteristic of the *je*-type complement is that its predicate bears the same syntactic relation to its subject and object as it does in the main clause; in other words, the verb of the complement clause will be inflected for subject and object agreement just as it would according to the general principles of the verb agreement in the main clause. The following examples are illustrative:

(1445) *həm jən-əit ch-i* [*je o*
I know-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1) COMP he(H)
ḍakṭər ch-əith]
doctor be-PRES-(3H)
'I know that he is a doctor.'

(1446) *həm-ra bujhæ-l* [*je həm-ra*
I-ACC/DAT feel-PST-(3NH + 1) COMP I-ACC/DAT
bokhar laig ge-l]
fever attach go-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I felt that I had caught a fever.'

(1447) *i bat* [*je həm nebari nəi bəj-əit*
this matter COMP I Newari not speak-IMPERF
ch-i] *səb kẽ bujhəl*
AUX-PRES-(1) all ACC/DAT known
ch-əinh
be-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
'The fact that I cannot speak Newari is known to all.'

Sometimes, depending upon the class and semantic property of the complement-taking predicates of the main clause, the predicates of the complement clause may differ in mood. Thus, for example, sentences [1445–1447] all have verbal forms which are in the indicative mood. Sentences [1448–1450], on the other hand, illustrate the verbal forms of the complement clauses which are in the optative mood; such verbal forms are used within the complements of the desiderative predicates, as exemplified below:

(1448) *jənardən cah-əit ch-əith* [*je*
Janardan want-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H) COMP
hun-k-ər beṭa ḍakṭər bən-əinh]
he-(GENIT) son doctor become-OPT-(3NH + 3H)
'Janardan wants that his son become a doctor/Janardan wants his son to become a doctor.'

(1449) *həm agrəh kəe-l-iəinh* [*je rəih ja-ith*]
I request do-PST-(1 + 3H) COMP live go-OPT-(3H)
'I requested him to stay.'

(1450) *i bat* [*je u nəi rəh-ɔ*] *həm*
this matter COMP he(NH) not live-OPT-(3NH) I
kona kəh-iəuk?
how say-IMP-(1 + 3NH)
'How should I tell him that he should not stay over?'

The remaining three complement types constitute a class; they differ collectively from the *je*-type complement clause in two principal ways. First, they are all reduced complements, i. e., they are not sentence-like comple-

ments. Second, unlike *je*-type complements, these complements are non-finite.

(ii) Infinitival complement. The predicates that take infinitival complements are *sikhəb* 'to learn', *choṛəb* 'to give up', *bisərəb* 'to forget', *lagəb* 'to begin', *cahəb* 'to want', and so on. Note that these predicates require the subject of the main clause to be identical and coreferential with the subject of the complement clause:

(1451) *həm nepal ləuṭ-ə cah-əit ch-i*
I Nepal return-INF want-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I want to return to Nepal.'

(1452) *o pher əŋreji paṛh-ə ləg-l-ah*
he(H) again English read-INF begin-PST-(3H)
'He began to study English again.'

(1453) *radha git gab-ə bisəir ge-l-ah*
Radha song sing-INF forget go-PST-(3H)
'Radha forgot to sing songs.'

(iii) Nominalized complement. A nominalized complement is a predicate which becomes nominalized and assumes the form of a verbal noun. The nominalized predicate bears a genitival relation with its subject and assumes a gerundival form. Such a nominalized complement may also be called a Genitive-Gerund type complement, and usually (but not necessarily) it takes a commentative predicate:

(1454) *ki əhā̃-k jæ-b/ge-nai ucit hoe-t?*
what you(H)-GENIT go-GERUND proper be-FUT-(3NH)
'Will it be proper for you to go?' (lit.: 'Will your going be proper?')

(1455) *hun-ək ae-bak jankari nəi*
he(H)-GENIT come-GERUND knowledge not
bheṭ-əl
meet-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I didn't receive the news of his arrival.' (lit.: 'I didn't have the knowledge of his coming.')

(1456) *ḍakṭər-ək həbər həbər jā̃c-əb/jā̃c-nai*
doctor-GENIT fast examine-GERUND
həm-ra nik nəi lag-əl
I-ACC/DAT good not feel-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I didn't like the doctor's examining (the patient) in a hurry.'

(iv) Participial complement. Participial complements play a rather restricted role in complementation and typically use predicates of immediate perception, such as *dekhəb* 'to see', *sunəb* 'to hear'. These predicates are marked either by the present participial *-əit* or by the past participial *-əl*:

(1457) *ki əhā̃ nəc-əit banər dekh-ne*
what you(H) dance-PRESPCPL monkey see-PERF
ch-i?
AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Have you seen dancing monkeys?'

(1458) *həm ok-ra cicia-it sun-əl-iəik*
I she-ACC/DAT cry-PRESPCPL hear-PST-(1 + 3NH)
'I heard her crying.'

(1459) *tõ hun-ka kursi pər bəis-əl*
You(NH) he(H)-ACC/DAT chair LOC sit-PSTPCPL
dekh-l-əhunh
see-PST-(2NH + 3H)
'You saw him sitting (i. e., having sat down) on a chair.'

Note that the participial complement in [1457] occurs as a nominal modifier, i. e., as an adjective, while in [1458–1459] the participials occur as verbal modifiers, i. e., as adverbs.

9.6.2 Relative clauses

In 9.6.1 above we treated those subordinate clauses which function as noun phrases. Here, we will deal with those subordinate clauses which function as modifiers of noun phrases; such modifying subordinate clauses are called relative clauses.

The modifying clauses are of two types: those that restrict the potential referent of the noun phrase are restrictive relative clauses, and those that provide an added piece of information about a noun-phrase referent which is already fully specified are nonrestrictive relative clauses. Restrictive relative clauses are treated in 9.6.2.1; nonrestrictive relative clauses are discussed along with other relative-like structures in 9.6.2.2.

A relative clause in Maithili is formed by the use of a relativizer, which is the relative pronoun *je* and its inflected forms. The following examples

illustrate the restrictive [1460–1462] as well as the nonrestrictive relative clauses [1463–1464]:

(1460) *u chɔ̃ṛa [je 0 kailh æ-l*
that boy REL yesterday come-PERF
ch-əl] bəḍ cəlak əich
AUX-PST-(3NH) very clever be-PRES-(3NH)
'The boy who came yesterday is very clever.'

(1461) *həm [je kitab məhəg ch-əik] se/u 0*
I REL book expensive be-PRES-(3NH) COREL that
nəi le-b
not take-FUT-(1)
'I won't buy the book which is expensive.'

(1462) *[je 0 əḍḍa me nəi ch-əl] se/u*
REL office in not be-PST-(3NH) COREL that
kərəmcari həṭ-a de-l ge-l
officer move-CAUS I give-PSTPCPL go-PST-(3NH)
'The officer who was not present in the office was sacked.'

(1463) *jənardən [je prophesər ch-əith] ai bhasən*
Janardan REL professor be-PRES-(3H) today speech
de-t-ah
give-FUT-(3H)
'Janardan, who is a professor, will deliver a speech today.'

(1464) *əhã bəḍ mehnət kə rəhəl ch-i [je*
You(H) much labor do PROG AUX-PRES-(2H) REL
nik bat əich]
good matter be-PRES-(3NH)
'You are working very hard – which is a good thing.'

9.6.2.1 Restrictive relative clauses

In a restrictive relative clause, the relativized NP consists of the relativizer *je* (in its various forms) with or without an accompanying common noun; when the latter is present, the relativizer serves as a determiner. The NP of the relative clause is coreferential with the head NP of the main clause. The head NP consists of the correlative pronoun *se* (in its various forms) or the demonstrative pronoun *i/u* (in its various forms), either with or without an accompanying common noun. Both the relativized and the

head NP may be either present or suppressed (see 9.6.2.1.1) – depending upon the relative word order of the head noun and the relative clause. The following examples illustrate the syntactic strategy used in the formation of restrictive relative clauses in Maithili; sentences [1466], [1468], and [1470] are relative subordinate clauses:

(1465) a. *khet həriyər əich*
field green be-PRES-(3NH)
'The field is green.'
b. *khet həm-ər əich*
field I-GENIT be-PRES-(3NH)
'The field is mine.'

(1466) *[je khet həriyər əich] se 0/u*
REL field green be-PRES-(3NH) COREL that
həm-ər əich
I-GENIT be-PRES-(3NH + 1)
'The field that is green is mine.'

(1467) a. *u naṭua rait nac-əl*
that dancer night dance-PST-(3NH)
'The dancer danced last night.'
b. *u nəṭua ekhən sutəl əich*
that dancer now asleep be-PRES-(3NH)
'The dancer is now asleep.'

(1468) *u nəṭua [je 0 rait nac-əl] (se) 0 ekhən*
that dancer REL night dance-PST-(3NH) COREL now
sutəl əich
asleep be-PRES-(3NH)
'The dancer who danced last night is now asleep.'

(1469) a. *ok-ər məhĩs həm-ər khet*
he(NH)-GENIT buffalo I-GENIT field
cər-əl
graze-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'His buffalo grazed my field.'
b. *ok-ra pəkəir la-0*
he(NH)-ACC/DAT catch bring-IMP-(2NH + 3NH)
'Go fetch him.'

(1470) *ok-ra pəkəir la-0*
he(NH)-ACC/DAT catch bring-IMP-(2NH + 3NH)
[jək-ər məhĩs həm-ər khet
REL-GENIT buffalo I-GENIT field
cər-əl]
graze-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'Go fetch him whose buffalo grazed my field.'

9.6.2.1.1 Types of restrictive relative clauses

Basing our analysis on the relative position of the head NP *vis-à-vis* the relative clause, there are three types of restrictive relative clauses in Maithili: postnominal, prenominal, and internal.

Postnominal. In a postnominal relative clause the head NP (consisting of a determiner and a common noun or a personal pronoun) occurs outside the relative clause, and the relative clause follows the head NP. The typical word order is thus: determiner + head + relative clause. The following examples are illustrative:

(1471) *u kərəmcari [je əḍḍa me nəi ch-əl]*
that officer REL office in not be-PST-(3NH)
(se) həṭ-a de-l ge-l
COREL move-CAUS I give-PSTPCPL go-PST-(3NH)
'The officer who was not in the office was sacked.'

(1472) *rəmes-ək babu [jin-kər ṭaŋ rel me kəiṭ*
ramesh-GENIT father REL(H)-GENIT leg train in cut
ge-l-əinh] (se) æ-l
go-PST-(3NH + 3H) COREL come-PERF
ch-əith
AUX-PRES-(3H)
'Ramesh's father whose leg got cut in the train has come.'

(1473) *to-ra bhai ke [jək-ra*
You(NH)-GENIT brother ACC/DAT REL-ACC/DAT
pulis pəkəir le-ne rəh-əuk]
police catch take-PERF AUX-PST-(3NH + 2NH)
(ok-ra) ai choir de-l-kəuk
he(NH)-ACC/DAT today leave give-PST-(3NH + 2NH)
'Your brother who was arrested by the police was released today/The police released today your brother who had been arrested.'

(1474) *o [je hun-k-ər jəmæ ch-əthinh]*
he(H) REL he(H)-GENIT son-in-law be-(3H + 3H)
(se) ab bəj-t-ah
COREL now speak-FUT-(3H)
'He who is his son-in-law will now speak.'

Sentences [1471–1474] are all postnominal relative clauses as the head NPs *u kərəmcari* [1471], *rəmes-ək babu* [1472], *to-ra bhai ke* [1473], and *o* [1474] occur outside the relative clauses and the relative clauses follow the head NPs. The relative clauses are marked by the relativizer *je* and its honorific and case-inflected forms. The common noun which might otherwise accompany the relativizer within the relativized NP has been deleted in all sentences.

The retention of this common noun within a postnominal relative clause is generally not permissible:

(1475) **rəmes-ək babu [jahi babu-k ṭaŋ rel me*
Ramesh-GENIT father that father-GENIT leg train in
kəit ge-l-əinh]
cut go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
*'Ramesh's father of which father's leg got cut in the train.'

(1476) **toh-ər bhai [je bhai nokri*
You(NH)-GENIT brother REL brother job
kər-əit ch-əuk]
do-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 2NH)
*'Your brother which brother is employed.'

The deletion of the common noun of the head NP if preceded by a determiner is also not permissible:

(1477) **u 0 [je kərəmcari əḍḍa me nəi ch-əl]*
that REL officer office in not be-PST-(3NH)
*'That which officer was not (present) in the office.'

(1478) **rəmes-ək 0 [jahi babu-k ṭaŋ kəiṭ*
Ramesh-GENIT REL father-GENIT leg cut
ge-l-əinh]
go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
*'Ramesh's which father's leg got cut.'

In postnominal relative clauses, the correlative marker *se* may be redundantly present as indicated within brackers in all the sentences cited above. The regular practice is to delete the correlative marker if it is in the nominative case; otherwise it may be retained in constructions of the following type:

(1479) *u kəpṛa [je/jək-ra əhã pəsin*
that cloth REL/REL-ACC/DAT you(H) select
kəe-l-əhũ] 0 tək-ər/ tahi kəpṛa-k
do-PST-(2H) COREL-GENIT COREL cloth-GENIT
dam mə̃həg ch-əik
price expensive be-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'The cloth that you selected is expensive.'

Prenominal. In a prenominal relative clause the head NP occurs outside the relative clause and the relative clause precedes the head NP. The typical word order thus is: relative clause + determiner + head, as exemplified below:

(1480) *[je kailh rait nac-əl] se/*
REL yesterday night dance-PST-(3NH) COREL
u nəṭua ekhən sutəl əich
DEMONS dancer now asleep be-PRES-(3NH)
'The dancer who danced last night is now asleep.'

(1481) *[je əḍḍa me nəi ch-əl] se/ u*
REL office in not be-PST-(3NH) COREL DEMONS
kərəmcari həṭ-a de-l ge-l
officer move-CAUS I give-PSTPCPL go-PST-(3NH)
'The officer who was not (present) in the office was sacked.'

(1482) *[jək-ra əhã nəi rəkh-l-əhũ]*
REL-ACC/DAT you(H) not keep-PST-(2H + 3NH)
tahi/ ohi nokər ke həm raikh
COREL DEMONS servant ACC/DAT I keep
le-l-əhũ
take-PST-(1 + 3NH)
'I hired the servant whom you didn't hire.'

Note that unlike postnominal relative clauses, prenominal relative clauses require that their head NP contain a correlative/demonstrative determiner.

Internal. In an internal relative clause (traditionally known as relative-correlative) the head NP occurs inside the relative clause. The main clause too may have the head NP repeated in it, in which case the head NP is preceded by the correlative-demonstrative-determiner; usually, however, the head NP is deleted and only a correlative-demonstrative-third person pronoun is used. The following examples are illustrative:

(1483) *[je serpa ebhresṭ pər pəhine cəṛh-əl] se/*
REL sherpa Everest on first climb-PST-(3NH) REL
u tenjiŋ ch-əl
he Tenjing be-PST-(3NH)
'The sherpa who climbed Mt. Everest first was Tenjing/Tenjing was the first sherpa who climbed Mt. Everest.'

(1484) *[je nəṭua rait nac-əl] ok-ra/*
REL dancer night dance-PST-(3NH) he(NH)-ACC/DAT
ohi nəṭua ke jənardən pəcas rupəiya
DEMONS dancer ACC/DAT Janardan fifty rupees
de-l-thinh
give-PST-(3H + 3NH)
'Janardan gave fifty rupees to the dancer who danced last night.'

(1485) *[je byəkti bhoj kha-e/khæ əe-l-ah]*
REL person feast eat-INF come-PST-(3H)
tin-kal hun-kal ohi
COREL(H)-ACC/DAT he(H)-ACC/DAT DEMONS(H)
byəkti səb kẽ ek jor dhoti de-l
person all ACC/DAT one pair dhoti give-PSTPCPL
ge-l-əinh
go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'All the people who came to (eat) the feast were presented with a pair of dhotis (to wear).'

Although prenominal and internal relative clauses are treated above as two separate types of restrictive relative clauses, it may be possible to treat them as subtypes of what have traditionally been called the correlative clauses.

A fourth type of relative clause, termed the "extranominal relative clause", also exists in Maithili. In such a construction, the head NP contains an indefinite determiner; the indefinite determiner is usually the

numeral *ek* 'one' followed by the classifier *ṭa*, or an indefinite pronoun – both of which may optionally be followed by such pronominal adjectives as *ehan/ohən* 'of such type'. The relative clause is marked by the relativizer *je*, and it follows the main clause:

(1486) *ek-ṭa ehən nokər rakh-u [je 0*
one-CLAS such servant keep-IMP-(2H) REL
əchop nəi ho-e]
untouchable not be-OPT-(3NH)
'Hire (such) a servant who is not an untouchable.'

(1487) *kono bidyarthi æ-l ch-əl [je 0*
any student come-PERF AUX-PST-(3NH) REL
əhã ke tək-əit ch-əl]
You(H) ACC/DAT look-IMPERF AUX-PST-(3NH + 2H)
'A student had come who was looking for you.'

(1488) *hun-ka kono ehən kəniyã kə*
he(H)-ACC/DAT any such bride do
d-iəunh [je 0 hun-ka ṭhikṭhak
give-IMP-(2H + 3H) REL he(H)-ACC/DAT right
kə d-əinh]
do give-OPT-(3NH + 3H)
'Marry him to such a bride as may set him right.'

Note that the common noun within the relativized NP is obligatorily deleted in the extranominal type of relative clause.

9.6.2.1.2 Which NPs can be relativized?

Maithili is quite generous in its strategies for relative-clause formation. Thus, noun phrases functioning as subject, direct object, indirect object, possessor in the possessive construction, and object of postpositions are all accessible to relative-clause formation, as exemplified below:

(1489) a. *nokərni kəpṛa dho rəhəl əich*
maidservant cloth wash PROG AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'The maidservant is washing clothes.'

b. *u nokərni [je kəpṛa dho rəhəl*
that maidservant REL cloth wash PROG
əich]
AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'The maidservant who is washing clothes.'

c. *u kəpṛa [je nokərni dho rəhəl*
that cloth REL maidservant wash PROG
əich]
AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'The clothes that the maidservant is washing.'

(1490) *[əhã jək-ral jahi bidyarthi ke*
You(H) REL-ACC/DAT REL student ACC/DAT
əŋreji pəṛhəu-l-iəik] se bidyarthi
English teach-PST-(2H + 3NH) COREL student
sel u ai bilayət ge-l
COREL he today England go-PST-(3NH)
'The student whom you taught English left for England to-day.'

(1491) *[jək-ər beṭa mela me hera ge-l-əik]*
REL-GENIT son fair in lose go-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
se məugil sel u khub cicia-it
COREL woman COREL she much cry-IMPERF
ch-əl
AUX-PST-(3NH)
'The woman whose son got lost at the fair was crying a lot.'

(1492) *[əhã jahi koṭhri me rəh-əit ch-i]*
You(H) REL room in live-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
sel u bəḍ saph əich
COREL that much clean be-PRES-(3NH)
'The room in which you live is very clean.'

9.6.2.2 Other types of relative-like clauses

In addition to the four types of relative clauses mentioned above, a few relative-like clauses also exist in Maithili.

(i) *Nonrestrictive clauses*. Nonrestrictive clauses are also marked with the relativizer *je*. But, unlike the restrictive relative clauses, nonrestrictive clauses occur with proper nouns and personal pronouns (whose potential referents are by definition definite). Such nonrestrictive relative clauses are of two types:

(1493) *radha babu, [je mukhiya ch-əith] aib*
Radha HP REL village leader be-PRES-(3H) come
ge-l-ah
go-PST-(3H)
'Radha babu, who is a village leader, arrived.'

(1494) a. *jənardən pi ec ḍi kə rəhəl ch-əith [je nik*
Janardan Ph.D. do PROG AUX-PRES-(3H) REL good
bat əich]
matter be-PRES-(3NH)
'Janardan is doing his Ph.D., which is a good thing.'

b. *əhã bəḍ mehnət kə rəhəl ch-i [je*
You(H) much labor do PROG AUX-PRES-(2H) REL
bəṛhiyã bat əich]
good matter be-PRES-(3NH)
'You are working very hard, which is a good thing.'

In sentence [1493], the relative clause provides an added piece of information about the head NP, whose reference is already specified because it is a proper noun. In sentences [1494a, b], the relative clauses provide a comment on the entire proposition, i. e., the entire main clause.

Sentences [1493–1494] also demonstrate that the Maithili nonrestrictive relative clauses are set off by the use of a comma intonation from the main clauses and can occur only in postnominal and extranominal positions.

(ii) *Participial relative clauses*. Participial verb forms used attributively to modify a noun may perform the role of a modifying relative clause-like structure and yield reduced relative clauses:

(1495) *u sut-əl bəcca ke uṭh-a*
he(NH) sleep-PSTPCPL child ACC/DAT rise-CAUS I
de-l-kəi(k)
give-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'He woke up a child who had fallen asleep.'

(1496) *ehən sə̃ṛ-əl am ke khæ-t?*
such rot-PSTPCPL mango who eat-FUT-(3NH)
'Who will eat a mango which is so rotten?'

(1497) *o khəs-əit am ke*
he(H) fall-PRESPCPL mango ACC/DAT
loik le-l-khinh
catch (in the air) take-PST-(3H + 3NH)
'He caught the mango which was falling (from the tree).'

(1498) *sipahi ḍub-əit bəcca ke bəca*
soldier drown-PRESPCPL child ACC/DAT save
le-l-kəik
take-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'The soldier saved the child who was drowning.'

9.6.3 Adverbial clauses

The adverbial subordinate clauses in Maithili can be divided into the following types: time, location, manner, reason, result, purpose, simultaneity, condition, counterfactual condition, and absolutive. In what follows, these clause types are discussed in detail.

9.6.3.1 Time clauses

The adverbial clauses of time signal temporal as well as sequential relationships and utilize both the strategies of subordination as shown below.

(i) *Temporal relationship*. Temporal relationship is signalled by the use of subordinators which are full words with lexical content; usually these are correlatives, one of which is optionally deleted, e. g., *jəkhən–təkhən* 'when–then', *jəhiya–təhiya* 'when–then', *jabət–tabət* 'as long as–until then':

(1499) *jəkhən həm pəhũc-l-əhũ (təkhən) əhã nəi*
when I arrive-PST-(1) then you(H) not
ch-əl-əhũ
be-PST-(2H)
'When I arrived, you were not (there).'

(1500) *jəhiya əhã jwan rəh-i əhã kəkro nəi*
when you(H) young be-PST-(2H) you(H) any one not
gudan-l-əhũ
listen-PST-(2H)
'When you were young, you listened to no one.'

(1501) *jabət həm nəi kəh-i əhã gam nəi*
as long as I not say-IMP-(1) you(H) village not
chor-u
leave-IMP-(2H)
'Until I ask you, do not leave the village.'

Temporal relationship is also signalled by the use of non-finite verb forms that appear in combination with forms (postpositions) which explicitly identify temporal relationships and may also be combined with the emphatic enclitic:

(1502) *malik ke khə-e-la / khə-e-la-k pər əhã*
master ACC/DAT eat-NON FINITE on/after you(H)
khæ-b
eat-FUT-(2H)
'You will eat when the master eats/after the master has eaten.'

(1503) *jərməni ja-e sə pəhinə-hĩ əhã jərman*
Germany go-INF from before-EMPH you(H) German
sikh-l-əhũ
learn-PST-(2H)
'Even before you went to Germany you learned German.'

(1504) *pəṛh-əit kall pəṛh-ə ber me həlla nəi*
read-PSTPCPL time read-INF time in noise not
kər-u!
do-IMP-(2H)
'Do not make a noise while studying.' (lit.: 'during the time of studying!')

(ii) *Immediate succession.* The locative adverbial *jəhã* 'where' coupled with *ki* 'that' signals immediate sequence of events:

(1505) (*jəhã*) *ṭisən pəhũc-l-əhũ ki gaṛi æ-l*
where station arrive-PST-(1) that train come-PST-(3NH)
'As soon as I arrived at the station, the train came.'

(1506) (*jəhã*) *sãjh pəṛ-əl ki əhã ghər bəhair*
where evening lie-PST-(3NH) that you(H) house sweep
le-l-əhũ
take-PST-(2H)
'As soon as the evening set, you swept the room.'

Non-finite verb forms are also used in signalling immediate succession of events:

(1507) *nokri ho-it* (*sath*)/ *ho-it-e* (*sath*)
job be-PRESPCPL with be-PRESPCPL-EMPH with
həm khəbər de-b
I news give-FUT-(1 + 2H)
'As soon as I get the job, I will inform you.'

(iii) *Cause.* Occasionally, the time adverbial morpheme (either with or without the emphatic enclitic *-e*) may signal cause as well:

(1508) *jəkhənl jəkhn-e o beṭa də sun-l-əinh*
when when-EMPH he(H) son about hear-PST-(3H)
o khəis pəṛ-l-ah
he(H) fall lie-PST-(3H)
'When he heard about his son, he swooned.'

(1509) *jəhiy-e sə babu mər-l-əinh o*
when-EMPH from father die-PST-(3H + 3H) he(H)
gam choir de-l-əinh
village leave give-PST-(3H)
'After his father died, he left the village/When his father died, he left the village (for good).'

Non-finite forms, too, convey the meaning of cause:

(1510) *i bat sun-əit o uiṭh ge-l-ah*
this matter hear-PRESPCPL he(H) rise go-PST-(3H)
'When he heard it he left immediately.'

The primary, literal meaning of sentences [1508–1510] seems to be temporal, but with the implication of causality.

9.6.3.2 Locative clauses

Locative adverbial clauses are introduced by the subordinator *jətə* 'where' or *jətəkətəu* 'wherever':

(1511) *jətə pəṭhæ-b həm jæ-b*
where send-FUT-(2H + 1) I go-FUT-(1)
'I will go where you send me.'

(1512) *jətəkətəu həm-ra nokri bheṭ-ət həm*
wherever I-ACC/DAT job meet-FUT-(3NH + 1) I
jæ-b
go-FUT-(1)
'I will go wherever I will find a job.'

Usually, however, locative clauses in Maithili have the shape of a relative-correlative clause:

(1513) *həm otəl ohi ṭham jæ-b jətəl jahi ṭham*
I there that place go-FUT-(1) where which place
həm-ra kəh-əb
I-ACC/DAT say-FUT-(2H + 1)
'I will go there where you ask me to.'

9.6.3.3 Manner clauses

Adverbial clauses of manner are introduced by *jena* 'as' or *jəhina* 'exactly as':

(1514) *lə j-o jena kəh-ne ch-əl-iəuk*
take go-IMP-(2NH) as say-PERF AUX-PST-(1 + 2NH)
'Take it away as I had instructed.'

(1515) *lə an-0 jəhina malik*
take bring-IMP-(2NH) exactly as master
kəh-əl-khunh
say-PST-(3H + 2NH)
'Fetch it exactly as the master said.'

Certain manner clauses in Maithili may also be paraphrased as relative-correlative clauses:

(1516) *ohina la-0 jena/ jəhina kəh-ne*
in that way bring-IMP-(2NH) as exactly as say-PERF
ch-əl-iəuk
AUX-PST-(1 + 2NH)
'Bring it in exactly the way I had instructed.'

If there is "doubt" or "unreality", an optative mood is used:

(1517) *o ena bəj-l-əith jena həm-ra nəi*
he(H) such speak-PST-(3H) as I-ACC/DAT not
cinh-ne ho-ith
recognize-PERF AUX-OPT-(3H + 1)
'He spoke (in such a way) as if he didn't recognize me.'

9.6.3.4 Reason clauses

Adverbial clauses of reason are formed by the use of a cluster of subordinating morphemes such as *tæ̃* 'so', *tahi sə̃* (colloquially *təi/təhi sə*) 'due to', *tahi sə̃/tahi karən sə̃/tahi karn-ẽ* 'due to that reason', *karən je* 'the reason being that', or *kiæk tə/kilje* 'because (of)'. A few examples are given for illustration:

(1518) *gaṛi chuiṭ ge-l tahi sə̃ ə-hĩ*
train leave go-PST-(3NH + 1) due to that you(H)-EMPH
otə rəih ge-l-əhũ
place live go-PST-(2H)
'I missed the train, due to that reason I stayed at your place.'

(1519) *həm ləndən səməe pər nəi pəhũc-l-əhũ kiæk tə*
I London time on not arrive-PST-(1) because
həm-ər jəhaj əber ch-əl
I-GENIT aeroplane late be-PST-(3NH)
'I didn't arrive in London on time because my airplane was late.'

(1520) *u pharəm nəi bhər-ə sək-əl karən je əphis*
he(NH) form not fill-INF can-PST because office
bənd bhə ge-l ch-əl-əik
closed become go-PERF AUX-PST-(3NH)
'He couldn't fill in the form because the office was closed.'

(1521) *baba buṛh bhə ge-l-ah tæ̃ məkai nəi*
grandfather old become go-PST-(3H) so maize not
pəc-əit ch-əinh
digest-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
'The grandfather is old so he cannot digest maize.'

(1522) *ḍhəua saiṭh ge-l tahi sə̃ gam aib*
money exhaust go-PST-(3NH) so village come
ge-l-əhũ
go-PST-(1)
'I came back home because my money was spent.'

Note that sentences [1521 – 1522] using *tæ̃* and *tahi sə̃* may be paraphrased as resultative sentences. For example, sentence [1522] might be interpreted as meaning: 'As a result of lack of money I came back'; similarly, [1521] may mean: 'As a result of his old age, the grandfather cannot digest maize'.

Reason clauses also employ a morphological device of using verbal nouns, i. e., by adding *-bak karn-ẽ* or *-la sə̃* to the verb of the subordinate clause:

(1523) *əber hoe-bak karn-ə̃l karən sə̃ gaṛi*
late become (verbal noun) cause-INSTR cause from train
chuiṭ ge-l
leave go-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I missed the train because I was late.'

(1524) *besi kha le-la sə̃ peṭ*
much eat take (verbal noun) from stomach
dukha-it əich
ache-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 1)
'My stomach aches because I ate much.'

Finally, if the main clause happens to contain an adverb of quantification (e. g., *ehən* 'such', *ətek/tətek* 'so much'), then the adverbial clause of reason employs the subordinating complementizer morphemes *je/ki* 'that':

(1525) *ətek chalhi kha le-l-əith je bhəir rait*
so much curd cream eat take-PST-(3H) that whole night
peṭ dukha-it ch-əl-əinh
stomach ache-IMPERF AUX-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'He ate so much curd cream that his stomach ached the whole night.'

(1526) *tətek cəl-l-əhũ ki thaik ge-l-əhũ*
so much walk-PST-(1) that tire go-PST-(1)
'I walked so much that I got tired.'

(1527) *ehən laṭhi mar-əl-khinh je nokər ke ḍãṛ*
such club hit-PST-(3H) that servant ACC/DAT waist
ṭuiṭ ge-l-əik
break go-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'He hit the servant with a club so hard that it broke his back.'

Once again, sentences (1525–1527] may be assigned a resultative reading.

9.6.3.5 Result clauses

An adverbial clause of result is formed by the use of *jahi sə̃* (colloquially *jəi sə*) 'so that/as a result of which', e. g.:

(1528) *babu ji pai bhej-nai choir de-l-əinh*
father HP money send (verbal noun) leave give-PST-(3H)
jahi sə̃ pəṛhai chor-ə pəṛ-əl
consequently study leave-INF MOD-PST-(3NH + 1)
'I had to quit my studies because Father stopped sending money.'

But the subordinators *tæ̃* or *tahi sə̃*, which are commonly used for reason clauses, may also be used for the result clause:

(1529) *həm-ra əber bhə rəhəl ch-əl*
I-ACC/DAT late become PROG AUX-PST-(3NH + 1)
tæ̃ həm ləuṭ ge-l-əhũ
consequently I return go-PST-(1)
'It was getting late for me, as a result of which I returned.'

9.6.3.6 Purpose clauses

The adverbial clauses of purpose typically use the different types of bare infinitival verb forms, as exemplified below:

(1530) *ramsagər jutta kin-ə jəenagər ge-l*
Ramsagar shoes buy-INF Jaynagar go-PST-(3NH)
'Ramsagar went to Jaynagar to buy shoes.'

(1531) *o əŋreji pəṛh-ə lel/baste bilæt ge-l-ah*
he(H) English read-INF for England go-PST-(3H)
'He went to England (in order) to study English.'

(1532) *dukhi ji nokri khoj-bak lel/baste/hetu kaṭhmanḍu*
Dukhi HP job search-INF for Kathmandu
əe-l-ah
come-PST-(3H)
'Dukhiji came to Kathmandu to look for a job.'

Sentences [1530–1532] illustrate examples where the main as well as the subordinate clauses have the same subject and show that the same-subject purpose clauses in Maithili use an infinitival verb form. The differen subject clauses, however, use a subordinator *jahi sə̃ ki* 'so that' and ha the verbs in the optative mood:

(1533) *o khub dhən kəma-e cah-əit*
he(H) much wealth earn-INF want-IMPERF
ch-əith jahi sə̃ ki hun-k-ər pəribar sukhi
AUX-PRES-(3H) so that he(H)-GENIT family happy
rəh-əinh
remain-OPT-(3NH + 3H)
'He wants to earn a lot of wealth so that his family may remain happy.'

(1534) *həm jərməni sə̃ barabər phon kər-əit*
I Germany from regularly phone do-IMPERF
ch-i jahi sə̃ ki həm-ər balək prəsənn
AUX-PRES-(1) so that I-GENIT son happy
rəh-əith
be-OPT-(3H + 1)
'I call from Germany regularly so that my son may be happy.'

Negative purpose clauses use a subordinator *kəhī* 'lest' and have the verb in the optative mood:

(1535) *rəse rəse cəl-u kəhĩ khəis nəi pəṛ-i*
slowly walk-IMP-(2H) lest fall not lie-OPT-(2H)
'Walk slowly lest you fall.'

(1536) *jor sə̃ cəl-əuth kəhĩ ṭren nəi chuiṭ*
fast walk-IMP-(3H) lest train not miss
ja-inh
go-OPT-(3NH + 3H)
'Let him walk fast lest he miss the train.'

With nonimperative main clauses, negative purpose clauses use a discontinuous subordinator *kəhĩ … tæ̃*:

(1537) *o khub mehnət kər-əit ch-əith kəhĩ*
he(H) much labor do-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H) lest
phel nəi bhə ja-ith tæ̃
fail not become go-OPT-(3H) therefore
'He is working hard lest he fail.'

(1538) *həm rəse rəse cəl-əit ch-i kəhĩ pichəir*
I slowly walk-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1) lest slip
nəi ja-i tæ̃
not go-OPT-(1) therefore
'I walk slowly lest I slip.'

Alternatively, sentences [1535−1538] may be formed with *jahi sə̃ ki*. For example:

(1539) *rəse rəse cəl-u jahi sə̃ ki khəis nəi pəṛ-i*
slowly walk-IMP-(2H) so that fall not lie-OPT-(2H)
'Walk slowly so that you may not fall.'

(1540) *o khub mehnət kər-əit ch-əith*
he(H) much labor do-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
jahi sə̃ ki phel nəi ho-ith
so that fail not become-OPT-(3H)
'He is working hard so that he may not fail.'

9.6.3.7 Simultaneity clauses

To signal that two events occurred simultaneously, Maithili uses repeated verb forms marked with the imperfective aspect *-əit*, e. g.,

(1541) *həm əmerika ja-it ja-it hun-ka*
I America go-IMPERF go-IMPERF he(H)-ACC/DAT
sə̃ bheṭ kəe-l-iəinh
from meet do-PST-(1 + 3H)
'I met him while leaving for the United States.'

(1542) *məugi bəj-əit bəj-əit kan-ə*
woman speak-IMPERF speak-IMPERF weep-INF
lag-əl
attach-PST-(3NH)
'The woman began to cry while talking.'

(1543) *o dəur-əit dəur-əit khəis pəṛ-l-ah*
he(H) run-IMPERF run-IMPERF fall lie-PST-(3H)
'He fell while running.'

(1544) *həm-ra dekh-əit dekh-əit*
I-ACC/DAT see-IMPERF see-IMPERF
ok-ra deh me aig laig
he(NH)-ACC/DAT body in fire attach
ge-l-əik
go-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'His body caught fire while I kept looking on.'

(1545) *həm git sun-əit sun-əit thaik ge-l-əhũ*
I song hear-IMPERF hear-IMPERF tire go-PST-(1)
'I got tired while listening to the song.'

(1546) *o miṭhai kha-it kha-it məir ge-l-ah*
he(H) sweets eat-IMPERF eat-IMPERF die go-PST-(3H)
'He died while eating sweets.'

9.6.3.8 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are formed by adding the subordinator *jɔ̃* (also *jədi* ~ *yədi, əgər*) 'if' to the clause which signals the condition and *tə* 'then' to the main clause which states that the outcome will happen if the condition is met. The following examples illustrate this:

(1547) *jɔ̃ pain pəṛ-ət tə rəih jæ-b*
if water fall-FUT-(3NH) then live go-FUT-(2H)
'If it rains, please stay.' (lit.: 'then you will stay.')

(1548) *jɔ̃ əhã bhoj me ge-l rəh-i tə miṭhai*
if you(H) feast in go-PERF AUX-PST-(2H) then sweets
khæ-nə-hĩ hoe-b
eat-PERF-EMPH AUX-FUT-(2H)
'If you had gone to the feast, then you would definitely have eaten the sweets.'

(1549) *jɔ̃ əhã kailh jənəkpur jæ-b tə*
if you(H) tomorrow Janakpur go-FUT-(2H) then
həm-hũ cəl-əb
I-EMPH walk-FUT-(1)
'If you go to Janakpur tomorrow, I will go, too.'

(1550) *jɔ̃ o həm-ra gair pəṛh-l-əinh tə*
if he(H) I-ACC/DAT abuse read-PST-(3H + 1) then
o buṛi ch-əith
he(H) stupid be-PRES-(3H)
'If he called me bad names, then he is stupid.'

(1551) *jɔ̃ jənardən rəh-t-ah tə həm-hũ rəih jæ-b*
if Janardan live-FUT-(3H) then I-EMPH live go-FUT-(1)
'If Janardan stays, I will stay, too.'

Sentences [1547–1551] illustrate the examples of the so-called "reality" conditionals, the main morphological distinction of which is to mark the verbs of both clauses with any combination of present, past, and future tenses.

Negation of either or both clauses is possible; syntactically, negative conditionals are like ordinary conditionals:

(1552) *jɔ̃ pain pəṛ-ət tə həm nəi jæ-b*
if water fall-FUT-(3NH) then I not go-FUT-(1)
'If it rains, I won't go.'

(1553) *jɔ̃ pain nəi pəṛ-ət tə dhan nəi*
if water not fall-FUT-(3NH) then paddy not
upj-ət
grow-FUT-(3NH)
'If it doesn't rain, the paddy crop won't grow.'

9.6.3.9 Counterfactual conditionals

Counterfactual conditionals use a different morphological device. In counterfactual conditionals, the use of the subordinating morpheme *jɔ̃*, *jədi* ~ *yədi*, *əgər* 'if' is optional, and the verbs of both the subordinate and main clauses are unmarked for tense and are instead marked for the conditional mood *-it*, e. g.,

(1554) *(jɔ̃) həm əhã jəkã rəh-it-əhũ tə ena nəi*
if I you(H) like be-COND-(1) then so not
kər-it-əhũ
do-COND-(1)
'If I were like you, I wouldn't have done so.'

(1555) *(jɔ̃) bərkha pəṛ-it-əik tə dhan*
if rain fall-COND-(3NH) then paddy
ho-it-əik
become-COND-(3NH)
'Had it rained, the paddy crop would have grown well.'

(1556) *hun-ka beṭi ke bibah bhə*
he(H)-ACC/DAT daughter ACC/DAT marriage become
ge-l rəh-it-əinh tə nik
go-PERF AUX-COND-(3NH + 3H) then good
ho-it-əinh
be-COND-(3NH + 3H)
'Had his daughter been married, it would have been nic

Alternatively, it is possible to have a truncated main clause, i. e., the ver phrase marked with the conditional mood may be absent (as shown within the brackets):

(1557) *o ab əmerika sɔ̃ ləuṭ jə-it-əith tə*
he(H) now America from return go-COND-(3H) then
nik (ho-it-əinh)
good be-COND-(3NH + 3H)
'It would have been nice if he had returned from the U.S.A. by now.'

(1558) *əhã pəṛhai choir d-it-əhũ tə bes*
You(H) study leave give-COND-(2H) then good
(ho-it)
be-COND
'It would have been better had you quit studies.'

Semantically, counterfactual conditionals are the "unreality" conditionals and refer to situations which might have happened if the condition stated

in the subordinate clause had been met. Sentences [1554–1558] exemplify it.

Negation of either or both clauses of counterfactual conditionals is permissible in Maithili:

(1559) *ok-ər bibah nəi bhe-l*
she(NH)-ACC/DAT marriage not become-PERF
rəh-it-əik tə əhā̃ ke
AUX-COND-(3NH + 3NH) then you(H) ACC/DAT
lel ṭhik ho-it
for good be-COND-(2NH + 2H)
'Had she not been married, it would have been good for you.'

(1560) *pahun rəhi jə-it-əinh tə nik nəi*
guest live go-COND-(3H) then good not
ho-it-əinh
be-COND-(3NH + 3H)
'Had the guest stayed, it wouldn't have been good for him.'

(1561) *həm ai nəi jə-it-əhũ tə kaj nəi*
I today not go-COND-(1) then job not
ho-it
become-COND
'Had I not gone there, the job wouldn't have been done.'

9.6.3.10 Absolutive clauses

Absolutive clauses are formed by adding the conjunctive/absolutive particle *kə* to the verb stem of the subordinate clause. Absolutive clauses convey a number of different meanings which are illustrated below:

Temporal sequence

(1562) *jən jəlkhəi kha kə æ-l*
laborer breakfast eat CP come-PST-(3NH)
'Having eaten the breakfast, the laborer(s) came.'

(1563) *o nəha kə bhojən kəe-l-əith*
he(H) bathe CP meal do-PST-(3H)
'Having bathed, he ate (his meal).'

Manner

(1564) *radha səb sə hə̃is kə gəp kər-əit*
Radha all from laugh CP talk do-IMPERF
ch-əith
AUX-PRES-(3H)
'Radha talks to everyone smilingly/pleasantly.'

(1565) *məugi kainkhij kə səb ke pətia*
woman cry CP all ACC/DAT convince
de-l-ək
give-PST-(3NH + 3NH)
'The woman convinced all by crying piteously.'

Concessive

(1566) *rajendər dos-o bhə kə həm-ra sə*
Rajendra friend-EMPH be CP I-ACC/DAT from
jhəgra kəe-l-ək
quarrel do-PST-(3NH)
'Rajendra quarreled with me even though he was my friend.'

(1567) *o həm-ra dekhi-o kə nəi ṭok-l-əinh*
he(H) I-ACC/DAT see-EMPH CP not speak-PST-(3H + 1)
'He didn't speak to me even though he saw me.'

Causal

(1568) *uma ḍuib kə məir ge-l-əik*
Uma drown CP die go-PST-(3NH)
'Uma died of drowning.'

Notes

Chapter one

1. This is an extrapolation, based on the fact that Beames treats Vidyāpati (circa 1360–1448) – the greatest Maithili poet – as a Bengali poet.
2. The first language is Nepali – which is also the national language.
3. Bharadwaj (in Mishra–Bharadwaj 1978: 3) refers to a rather unsubstantiated speculation made by Govind Jha that Grierson probably based his Maithili Grammar on the work of a pundit, Hali Jha. But Hali Jha's work is both unavailable and unpublished. Govind Jha has indicated to me (personal communication) that his speculation should not be taken too seriously.
4. "MAIT'HILA or *Tirhutiya* is the language used in *Mit'hilà* that is, in the *Sircár* of Tirhút, and in some adjoining districts, limited however by the river Cusí (Causicí) and Gandhac (Gandhací) and by the mountains of Népál: it has a great affinity with Bengáli; and the character in which it is written differs little from that which is employed throughout Bengal. In Tirhút, too, the learned write Sanscrit in the Tirhutiya character, and pronounce it after their own inelegant manner. As the dialect of *Mit'hilà* has no extensive use, and does not appear to have been at any time cultivated by elegant poets, it is unnecessary to notice it further in this place." (1801: 225).
5. A corrected and revised edition was published in 1909 under the new title *An introduction to the Maithilī dialect of the Bihārī language as spoken in North Bihār*. Part I, "Grammar". (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal.)
6. For a summary of the discussion on the inappropriateness of the nomenclature "Bihari", see Yadav (1981).
7. According to this theory, the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars fall into two groups – the inner and the outer. The inner group comprises languages like western Hindi, Panjabi, Gujarati, and Rajasthani, while the outer group consists of languages like Sindhi, Marathi, Oriya, Bihari, and Assamese. The two groups exhibit fundamental phonetic, phonological, and morphological differences. These differences are ascribed to separate invasions of groups of Aryans into India. It is argued that the outer group of Aryans came to India first and settled in the Madhyadeśa, i.e., Eastern Panjab and western Uttar Pradesh. The inner group of Aryans invaded later and pushed the outer group away from their original homes, forcing them to move north, east, and south (see Chatterji 1926 for a contrary view).
8. A singular exception may be Sh. Jha (1957), who attempts to show that Maithili belongs to the Ardha-Māgadhī (and not to the Māgadhī) branch of the New Indo-Aryan family. Sh. Jha concludes:

   > But after a close analysis of this language and on the survey of the geographical situation of the land to which this language belongs and on the study of the sound system, vocables and declensional and conjugational patterns of the language in question, we are led to think that Maithilī is the daughter of the Ardha-Māgadhī dialect and is an independent language of Bihar. It is not the so-called daughter of the Māgadhī dialect (1957: 67)

9. The list of works presented here does not claim to be exhaustive, as no work has been reported on the history of Maithili grammars.
10. A solitary exception may be Ramanath Jha's (1955 [1971]) work entitled *Mithilā-Bhāṣā-Prakāśa* [Maithili grammar], which is written for university students of Maithili in north India.

Chapter three

1. This was recognized to be so by Dinabandhu Jha (1357 sala/1946 A. D.: 103):

   liṅga arthāt puṁsatva strītva *laukike* (emphasis mine) mithilābhāṣāme nāmaka artha hoita achi, saṁskritavat athavā hindīprabhṛtibhāṣāvat *śātrīya* (emphasis mine) nahi.

   [Gender (i. e. masculine and feminine) in Maithili is conventional and is governed mainly by the sex of the animate object; it is not grammatical as in Sanskrit and Hindi, etc.]

2. Consider, for instance, the following facts from Sanskrit wherein the nominative and vocative cases are distincly marked by two separate morphemes:

   devə-ḥ (Nom) 'god', but *devə-ϕ*(Voc)
   sena (Nom) 'army', but *sen-e* (Voc)
   əgni-ḥ (Nom) 'fire', but *əgn-e* (Voc)
   śətru-ḥ (Nom) 'enemy', but *śətr-o* (Voc)

   No such declension occurs in Maithili, however: *bhəgban* (Nom) 'God', *he bhəgban* (Voc-God) 'Oh God!'; *ram* (Nom) 'Ram', but *yəu ram* (Voc-2H Ram); *həu ram* (Voc-2MH Ram); and *rəu ram* (Voc-2NH Ram) – all of which translate into English as 'Hello Ram'.

3. See 7.2 for more information on postpositions.
4. See 6.9.2 for more information on bare infinitival constructions in Maithili.

Chapter four

1. In discussing the distinction of Maithili pronouns into honorific and nonhonorific, Grierson (1881 a: 24) declares that "To people accustomed to deal with eastern languages, I need do no more than point out the fact, except to notice *en passant*, that in no Indian language which I have studied, is this distinction carried to a greater length (footnote omitted) than in Maithili."
2. In highly formal and literary styles, a gender distinction between masculine and feminine is shown by intransitive verbs in non-present tense forms of the third person and by transitive verbs in future tense forms of the third person. Examples:

   (1) *raja əe-l-ah*
   king come-PST-(3H,M)
   'The king came.'

   but,

   (2) *rani əe-l-ih*
   queen come-PST-(3H,F)
   'The queen came.'

   (3) *raja khəe-t-ah*
   king eat-FUT-(3H,M)
   'The king will eat.'

   but,

   (4) *rani khəe-t-ih*
   queen eat-FUT-(3H,F)
   'The queen will eat.'

(5) *raja jæ-t-ah*
king go-FUT-(3H,M)
'The king will go.'

but,

(6) *rani jæ-t-ih*
queen go-FUT-(3H,F)
'The queen will go.'

3. The contrast maintained in sentences (259) and (260) may tend to suggest an honorific versus nonhonorific contrast in the first person pronoun. Nevertheless, in this study, the first person pronoun *həm* 'I' will be treated as being indeterminate as to honorificity distinctions.
4. The language of conversation between the son-in-law and the parents-in-law (especially the mother-in-law if and when it occurs) presents a fascinatingly different picture and needs to be investigated further. In general, the second person honorific pronoun is replaced by the third person demonstrative (proximate) honorific pronoun *i* (and its various inflected forms), with which the verb agrees. For example:

(1) *i kəh-əuth*
he(H) say-IMP-(3H)
'Please (you) say'

(2) *hin-ka kiuch ho-it ch-əinh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT something be-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
ki?
what
"Are you ill or what? (lit.: Is something happening to him?)'

5. Here it is worth quoting Grierson (1881 a: 29, 'N.B.'): "*ap'ne* can be used throughout for *ahā'*. It is the more honorific term of the two. *ahā'* is sometimes even used when talking to inferiors. *ahā'*, in fact, is 'polite', and *tōh* is 'vulgar'" [examples in Devanagari script omitted throughout].
6. This seems to be true of brahmins in general, and of younger married couples of other castes as well. Older married couples may refer to one another in public through a variety of circumlocutions. Thus, for instance, the husband may refer to his wife as *ghərbali* 'owner of the household', *əŋnabali* 'owner of the courtyard', *bəuak/bəccak/chə̃ṛak/beṭik mæ* 'boy's/daughter's mother', etc. Similarly, the wife may refer to her husband as *malik* 'master', *khamin* (cf. Skt. *svāmī*) 'husband', *ghərək malik* 'master of the house', *bəuak/bəccak/chəũrik bap/babu* 'boy's/daughter's father', etc.

   Note specifically that if the addressee happens to be a kinsman, then the husband may refer to his wife with such kinship phrases as *tohər/əhāk kaki* 'your aunt', *tohər/əhāk bhəuji* 'your sister-in-law', etc., while the wife will refer to her husband with such kinship phrases as *tohər/əhāk kəka* 'your uncle', *əhāk bhæ* 'your brother', etc.
7. The brahmins, however, would use *əhā̃* for such kinsmen as well.
8. In the past, I have come across young illiterate/semiliterate brahmin boys using *tõ* (NH) for elderly persons of 'lower' castes, but today it will simply not be tolerated by the addressee.
9. Interestingly enough, the pronoun of prayer is *tõ* (MH) and not *tõ* (NH):

(1) *he bhəgban tõ həm-ər rəccha kər-əh*
VOC God You(MH) I-GENIT protection do-IMP-(2MH)
'O God, protect me'

10. The inclusive plural pronoun *əpna səb/səbh*, the second person high honorific plural pronoun *əpne səb/səbh*, and the reflexive pronoun *əpne* need to be treated separately as three distinct forms in the Maithili pronominal system.
11. Note that in all styles – standard or otherwise – *səbh* is generally preferred to *səb* in genitive case forms.
12. Diachronically, the base form was *tõh* or *tohẽ*. The synchronic remnant of the *h* is still maintained in the genitive forms. The retention of *h* in other case forms, however, may be viewed as an affectation.
13. Note the asymmetry in the pronominal system: while *əhā̃ me* and *əpne me* 'in you' are present, **həm me* 'in me' or **tõ me* 'in you (NH)' do not exist.
14. Note that, unlike Hindi, Maithili has plural as well as singular forms for the interrogative pronoun 'what'. Compare the following sentences:

(1) *ye kya həẽ?* Hindi
these what be-PRES-PL
'What are these?'

(2) *i ki səb əich?* Maithili
this what PL AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'What are these?'

15. *jahi*(NP)-*k* means simply that a noun phrase may optionally be inserted between the pronoun and the case marker and/or postposition – upon which the relative pronoun functions as a determiner (see also chapter 5):

(1) *jahi gai-k dudh ehən tahi gai-k dam*
of which cow-GENIT milk such of that cow-GENIT price
kətek?
how much
'When the milk of this cow is such then how much will be the price of that cow?'

Chapter five

1. Here it may be worthwhile to quote Grierson (1909: 64): "I have said that adjectives are *liable* to change for gender, but in practice the change very rarely takes place. In ordinary conversation the masculine gender is quite commonly used instead of the feminine, and, indeed, except to paṇḍits grammatical gender is almost unknown; that is to say, adjectives only become feminine when applied to female living creatures."
2. This statement may not be wholly true. In certain affected styles (usually characteristic of the Brahmanic speech in which the pronounced forms approximate closely to the written forms), a few of the indefinite adjectives may also show masculine and feminine distinctions, e. g.:

	Masculine	Feminine
(1)	*gor balək* 'a fair-complexioned boy'	*gori kənya* 'a fair-complexioned girl'

(2) *tin purukh* — 'three men' / *tin*^{i} *stri* — 'three women'

(3) *choṭ mərd* — 'a short man' / *choṭ*^{i} *maug*^{i} — 'a short woman'

(4) *sunnər balək* — 'a handsome boy/son' / *sunnər*^{i} *balika* — 'a good-looking girl/daughter', and so on.

3. A definite participial form of *khus* may yield a correct sentence, e. g.,

(5) *khus bhe-l-ha bəcca kẽ sor*
happy become-PSTPCPL-DEF(M) child ACC/DAT call
par-u
do-IMP-(2H)
'Call the child who has just become happy.'

4. Sentence [376] may be acceptable if by it is meant: 'Call a strong and ready servant'.
5. In high vocabulary (i. e., mainly *tatsama* words borrowed from Sanskrit), morphologically derived comparative (adjective + *-tər*) and superlative (adjective + *-təm*) adjective forms are no doubt available, e. g.,

Comparative		Superlative	
ləghu-tər	'shorter'	*ləghu-təm*	'shortest'
dirgh-tər	'longer'	*dirgh-təm*	'longest'
priyə-tər	'dearer'	*priyə-təm*	'dearest'
uccə-tər	'higher'	*uccə-təm*	'highest', and so on.

6. Emphatic enclitics are discussed in detail in chapter 7.
7. Note that in sentence [429] the noun that is modified is deleted.
8. Such forms ending in æ convey sociolinguistic information about the speaker. In general, the æ-ending forms are characteristic of the Brahmanic and educated styles of speech.
9. See note 8.
10. Note that generally speaking *etni* and *otni* cannot modify a countable noun. Thus, **etni kursi* 'only this many chairs' and **otni log* 'only that many people' are unacceptable utterances. It is more proper to say *etne kursi* and *otne log*.
11. See note 10.

Chapter six

1. This characterization of the Maithili verb phrase may not be wholly correct after all. For example, while it is true that aspect and auxiliary are always tied together (in that the use of the aspect marker will necessarily trigger the obligatory use of the auxiliary verb), a number of elements (e. g., the emphatic enclitics *e* and *o*, the classifier clitic *ṭa*, definitizers/complementizers such as *tə*, *ne*, etc., and the negative particle *nəi*) may intervene between the aspect marker and the auxiliary:

(1) *həm khəe-ne tə ch-i muda ...*
I eat-PERF DEF AUX-PRES-(1) but
'I have no doubt eaten but ...'

(2) *khəe-ne-e-ṭa nəi ch-i*
eat-PERF-EMPH-CLAS NEG AUX-PRES-(1)
'Not only have I (definitely) eaten, but ...'

(3) *əhã i kha-it-e tə nəi ch-i*
you(H) this eat-IMPERF-EMPH DEF NEG AUX-PRES-(2H)
təkhnən ki bəj-əit ch-i
then what speak-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'You don't (won't) eat it after all so why talk about it!'

Also, in infinitival constructions, a few modals may also intervene between the verb stem and the aspect marker. In such cases, the aspect marker is attached directly onto the modal itself, which in turn is followed by the auxiliary:

(4) *kha-(e) sək-əit ch-i*
eat-INF can-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I am able to eat.'

(5) *kha-e sək-əll*ne ch-əl-əhũ*
eat-INF can-PERF AUX-PST-(2H)
'You had been able to eat.'

2. Two types of stem alternation are very common in Maithili: (i) *ə* → *0*; and (ii) *a* → *ə*. These are discussed below.
(i) A schwa deletion rule (of the type ... VCəCV(C) ... → ... VC0CV(C) ...) deletes the second schwa of a Maithili word/stem followed by a vowel-initial suffix:

(1) *unəṭ-a* → *unṭa*
roll over-CAUS I 'cause to roll over'

(2) *ləṭək-əit ch-i* → *ləṭkəit chi*
hang-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1) 'I am hanging'

but,

(3) *unəṭ-ba* → *unəṭba*
roll over-CAUS II 'cause to roll over (through s. o.)'

(4) *ləṭək-ba* → *ləṭəkba*
hang-CAUS II 'cause to hang (through s. o.)'

(ii) *a* is changed into *ə* in the following environments:
(iia) Stem final *a* is changed into *ə* upon addition of an affix, consisting of a CV structure:

(5) *kha-ne ch-i* → *khəene chi*
eat-PERF AUX-PRES-(1) 'I have eaten'

(6) *la-ne rəh-əb* → *ləene rəhəb*
bring-PERF AUX-FUT-(2H) 'You will have brought'

Note that the resultant forms have *e* inserted into them; thus, **ləne rəhəb*, **khəne chi* are ungrammatical forms in Maithili.
Note also that it would not do to say that *a* simply changes into *əe* for the simple reason that *a* → *ə* is a highly productive and systematic rule of the Maithili phonological system.

(iib) Stem final *a* is also changed into *ə* upon addition of tense and person honorifi affixes:

(7) *kha-ət-ah* → *khəetah*
eat-FUT-(3H) 'He will eat'

(8) *kha-əl-əinh* → *khəeləinh*
eat-PST-(3H) 'He ate'

(9) *ja-əb-əik* → *jəebəik*
go-FUT-(1) 'I will go'

(10) *la-əl-əhũ* → *ləeləhũ*
bring-PST-(1) 'I brought', and so on.

(iic) Stem internal *a* (followed by a stem final consonant) is changed into *ə* upon addition of an affix which is either consonant-initial or diphthong initial, if the stem final consonant is not *r* or *l*:

(11) *kaṭ-əit ch-əl-əhũ* → *kəṭəit chələhũ*
cut-IMPERF AUX-PST-(1) 'I was cutting'

(12) *caṭ-ne ch-e* → *cəṭne che*
lick-PERF AUX-PRES-(2NH)
'You have licked'

but,

(13) *mar-əit ch-i* → *marəit chi*
beat-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(2H)
'You beat'

(14) *bəhar-ne ch-i* → *bəharne chi*
sweep-PERF AUX-PRES-(2H) 'You have swept'

(15) *pal-əit rəh-əb* → *paləit rəhəb*
bring up-IMPERF AUX-FUT-(2H)
'You will continue to bring up'

(iid) If, however, the affixal element contains *a* (either singly or preceded by a consonant), then the change of *a* to *ə* takes place invariably even if the stem-final consonant is *r* or *l*:

(16) *kaṭ-a* → *kəṭa*
cut-CAUS I 'cause to cut'

(17) *kaṭ-ba* → *kəṭba*
cut-CAUS II 'cause to cut (through s. o.)'

(18) *mar-a* → *məra*
kill-CAUS I 'cause to kill'

(19) *mar-ba* → *mərba*
kill-CAUS II 'cause to kill (through s. o.)'

(20) *pal-a* → *pəla*
bring-up-CAUS I
'cause to bring up', and so on.

3. The perfective aspectual marker is *-əl* if the intransitive verb stem ends in a consonant; otherwise it is *-l*:

(1) *sut-əl ch-əith*
sleep-PERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'He is asleep.' (lit.: 'He has slept.')

(2) *uṭh-əl rəh-əb*
arise-PERF AUX-FUT-(2H)
'You will have arisen.'

but,

(3) *ge-l ch-i*
go-PERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I have gone.'

(4) *ge-l ch-əl-əhũ*
go-PERF AUX-PST-(1)
'I had gone.'

Note the homophonous character of the perfective aspectual marker and the past tense marker. But, as will be seen below, the perfective marker *-əl* combines only with intransitive verb stems, while the past tense marker *-əl* combines with both transitive and intransitive verbs.

4. See note 1.
5. Note that although an imperfective verb may translate into English as progressive, there are distinct differences between the two:
(i) The imperfective aspect is expressed by a bound form *əit* attached directly to the verb stem, but the progressive is expressed by an aspectual auxiliary word *rəhəl*.
(ii) The imperfective aspect has a habitual meaning:

(1) *həm nach sikh-əit ch-i*
I dance learn-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I take dance lessons.'

(2) *həm maus kha-it ch-i*
I meat eat-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(1)
'I am a non-vegetarian.'

(iii) The progressive conveys the meaning of continuation of an act at the time of speaking:

(3) *o həĩs rəhəl ch-əith*
he(H) laugh PROG AUX-PRES-(3H)
'He is laughing/*He laughs.'

(4) *mohən dəur rəhəl əich*
Mohan run PROG AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'Mohan is running/*Mohan runs.'

(iv) The imperfective (but not progressive) conveys a frequentative meaning:

(5) *bərabər əb-əit rəh-u*
always come-IMPERF remain-IMP-(2H)
'Come regularly!'

6. All affixes of the form *-əC* lose their schwa when they are joined with a verb stem ending in a vowel other than *i* or *u*; or, the schwa may be deleted in accordance with the rule of schwa deletion in note 2.
7. See above, note 6.
8. See, however, below 8.2.2.

9. When the verb stem ends in *e*, the imperative mood marker for 2H is *-ə*; everywhere else the marker is *-u*. The two verbs that end in *e* are *le* 'take' and *de* 'give'. These are illustrated below:

(1) *baj-u*
speak-IMP-(2H)
'Speak!'

(2) a. *di-ə ~ di-yə*
give-IMP-(2H)
'Give!'
b. *li-ə ~ li-yə*
take-IMP-(2H)
'Take!'

Note the stem alternation: *e* → *i*; a glide may optionally be inserted between *i* and *ə* in some pronunciations.

10. With a set of two verbs ending in *a* (*kha* 'eat' and *ja* 'go') the imperative mood marker for 2NH is *-o*; everywhere else it is *-0*:

(1) a. *kh-o*
eat-IMP-(2NH)
'Eat!'
b. *j-o*
go-IMP-(2NH)
'Go!'

(2) *həṭ-0*
move-IMP-(2NH)
'Move!'

With other *a*-ending verbs, however, the imperative mood marker is *-0*:

(3) *la-0/*l-o*
bring-IMP-(2NH)
'Bring!'

(4) *pa-0/*p-o*
find-IMP-(2NH)
'Find!'

11. See 8.2.2 and note 2 of chapter 8 for information on suppression vs. retention of subject pronouns in imperative constructions.

12. See note 14 below; note also that *i* followed by *h* in composite affixes of more than one syllable does not metathesize with the final consonant of the stem to which they are attached:

(1) *kər-ih-ẽ → kərihẽ/*kəirhẽ*
do-FUT IMP-(2NH)

(2) *uṭh-ih-əh → uṭhihəh/*uiṭhhəh*
rise-FUT IMP-(2MH)

These forms contrast with the forms given in note 14:

(3) *kər-it-əh → kəirtəh*
do-COND-(2MH)
'Had you done!'

but,

(4) *kər-ih-əh → kərihəh/*kəirhəh*
do-FUT IMP-(2MH)
'Do!'

13. See note 6.

14. Initial *i* of a composite suffix of more than one syllable metathesizes with the final consonant of a consonant-final verb stem in spoken varieties of the language (however, see note 12 above):

(1) *kər-it-əhũ → kəirtəhũ*
do-COND-(1) 'I would have done.'

(2) *uṭh-it-əith → uiṭhtəith*
rise-COND-(3H) 'He would have arisen.'

15. A fourth, high honorific grade is distinguished in the pronoun system: *əpne ch-i* 'you(HH) are(2H)'. Note, however, that *əpne* (2HH) and *əhã* (2H) are associated with the same verb-agreement inflections.

16. It has been stated in 6.2.3 that the auxiliary form for the 3NH is a composite form *əich*, in which case the person-honorific marker in the present tense is *-0*. In rural dialects, however, *ch-* is also used; the person-honorific marker for the third person non-honorific present tense is then *-əik*:

(1) *u* *ja-it* *əich/ch-əik*
he(NH) go-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'He goes.'

(2) *u* *kha-it* *əich/ch-əik*
he(NH) eat-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'He eats.'

Note that *h* (both final and intervocalic) and final *k* in all affixes listed in 6.2.6 are deleted even in standard colloquial pronunciation.

17. *əinh* is the marker for optative mood in 3NH + 3H "dative" subject constructions:

(1) *hun-ka beṭa ho-inh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT son be-OPT-(3NH + 3H)
'May he be blessed with a son!'

18. Note that in this instance and in its causative verb forms, even the initial retroflex *ṭ* is changed.

19. Note that where the transitivized verb stem itself terminates in *a*, the causative verb stem may be viewed simply as a case of zero-derivation. Upon addition of *ba*, however, the stem final *a* is changed into a schwa *ə*, and then deleted according to a general schwa deletion rule, e. g., *paṭha-ba-eb → paṭhə-ba-eb → pəṭhbaeb*.

20. See 6.2.2 for information on suffixation of *b* prior to the suffixation of aspectual and other agreement affixes.

21. In written styles, all consonant-final verb stems may have *i* added (and not metathesized in spelling) to them irrespective of the quality of the preceding vowel, e. g., *becilelənhi* 'he sold (it) away', *kinilelənhi* 'he bought (it) immediately', or *dekhileləthi* 'he saw me (unawares)'.

22. In written styles, vowel-final verb stems such as *pi* 'drink', *si* 'sew', etc. may have alternative consonant-final stems like *pib*, *sib*, in which case the stem alternation rule will apply, yielding such forms as *pibileləthi* 'he/she drank up', *sibileləthi* 'he/she sewed up'.

23. In the eastern dialect of Maithili spoken around Rajbiraj and Biratnagar, *e* is added to the polar verb stem ending in *a* and *ə*, e. g.,

khaleləhũ → *khaeleləhũ* → *khæleləhũ*
dhəleləhũ → *dhəeleləhũ* → *dhæleləhũ*

As a matter of fact, the eastern region of the Maithili speaking area is jokingly described as the æ-area.

24. *kə-* is a truncated verb stem from *kər* 'do'; forms like **kərlelək* , **kəirlelək*, **kərlək*, etc. are unacceptable.

25. *dhə* is a truncated verb stem from *dhər* 'keep'; forms like **dhərle*, **dhərleləinh*, **dhəirlel-əinh*, **dhəirle*, etc. are unacceptable.

26. *lə* is originally from *le* 'take'; forms like **lelelək*, **lejarəhəl chi*, etc. are unacceptable.

27. In expressions like *cəil əe-l-əhũ* (walk-*i* come-PST-(1)), 'I came back', it is not certain if the meaning of the compound verb is compositional, i. e., computable from the meaning of the polar verb alone. But in general, the meaning of a compound verb is compositional.

28. Four types of *ho-* may be recognized in Maithili:

(i) *ho-* as a future-tense form of the auxiliary verb *ch-* expressing presumptive mood:

(1) *əhã ge-l hoe-b*
You(H) go-PERF AUX-FUT-(2H)
'You may have gone.'

(2) *tõ-hũ khəe-ne hoe-be*
You(NH)-EMPH eat-PERF AUX-FUT-(2NH)
'You too may have eaten/Even you may have eaten.'

(ii) *ho-* as a present (imperfective aspect) and future tense form of the nonstative full verb *ho* 'to become':

(3) *təkhən bhəgban prəgaṭ ho-it ch-əith*
then God visible become-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'Then the God appears/becomes visible.'

(4) *əi bat pər o pagəl ho-it ch-əith*
this matter on he(H) mad become-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'At this he becomes mad.'

(5) *o əpradhi hoe-t-ah*
he(H) guilty become-FUT-(3H)
'He will become guilty.'

(iii) *ho-* 'to be' as a stative full verb and combined with *-əit* (a "generic" aspect as it were) to convey a host of meanings:

(a) to convey a universal meaning:

(6) *gai ke naŋəir ho-it ch-əik*
cow ACC/DAT tail be-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'The cow has a tail.'

(7) *hathi ke sũṛh ho-it ch-əik*
elephant ACC/DAT trunk be-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'The elephant has a trunk.'

(b) to express a happening:

(8) *həm-ra bəḍḍ jar ho-it əich*
I-ACC/DAT very cold be-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 1)
'I feel too cold.'

(c) to describe a process of action:

(9) *rəhi rəhi kə bərkha ho-it ch-əik*
haltingly rain be-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
'It rains on and off.'

(d) to express an iterative meaning:

(10) *hun -ka khali beṭi-e ho-it ch-əinh*
he(H)-ACC/DAT only daughter-EMPH be-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH + 3H)
'Only daughters are born to him.'

(iv) Stative *ho* + *əb* (Future) to convey present-tense meanings in certain constructions:

(11) *həm əhã ke bəhinoi hoe-b-0*
I you(H)-ACC/DAT sister's husband be-FUT-(1 + 2H)
'I am your brother-in-law.'

(12) *əhã həm-ər sar hoe-b-0*
You(H) I-GENIT wife's brother be-FUT-(2H + 1)
'You are my brother-in-law'

29. Four kinds of *rəh* may be recognized; diachronically these may be related, but synchronically they are distinct but homophonous forms in modern Maithili:

(i) *rəh* as a future form of the auxiliary *ch-*:

(1) *həm kha-it rəh-əb*
I eat-IMPERF AUX-FUT-(1)
'I will be eating.'

(2) *əhã ge-l rəh-əb*
You(H) go-PERF AUX-FUT-(2H)
'You will have gone.'

(ii) *rəh* as a past form of the stative main verb *ch-* 'to be':

(3) *həm rəh-i*
I be-PST-(1)
'I was.'

(4) *tõ-hũ rəh-e*
You(NH)-EMPH be-PST-(2NH)
'You too were.'

(iii) *rəh* 'to remain' as a durative main verb:

(5) *həm rəh-l-i*
I remain-PST-(1)
'I remained.'

(iv) *rəhəl* – a full word used as a progressive aspectual marker:

(6) *həm kha rəhəl ch-i*
I eat PROG AUX-PRES-(1)
'I am eating.'

Note the following sentences:

(7) *həm rəih rəhəl rəh-əb*
I remain-*i* PROG AUX-FUT-(1)
'I will continue to remain.'

(8) *jɔ̃ əhã rəih rəhəl rəh-it-əhũ*
if you(H) remain-*i* PROG AUX-COND-(2H)
'Had you been living.'

30. Note that the final *e* of *-əe* is retained in written and highly educated and literary styles only; elsewhere it is generally deleted. Thus: *pəṛh-əe* ~ *pəṛhə* 'to read'. Note also a few morphophonemic modifications that occur if the stem ends in *a*: the *ə* of *-əe* is deleted, thus giving rise to *ae* ~ *əe*, and never to **aəe*, e. g., *kha-əe* → *kha-e* ~ *khæ* 'to eat', but *dho-əe* → *dho-ə(e)* 'to wash'.

Chapter eight

1. As a matter of fact, the present account may not be wholly correct, since it is perfectly possible to omit a subject pronoun in a declarative sentence in Maithili. Either the context or the verbal morphology will reveal the exact person and honorific grade of the pronoun-subject in question, e. g.,

(1) *kha-i(t)* ch-i
eat-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(-(2H/1)
'You/I eat'

(2) a. *jəe-b-e*
go-FUT-(2NH)
'You will go'
b. *jəe-b-əh*
go-FUT-(2MH)
'You will go'

In sentence [2], the verbal morphology is sufficient to differentiate distinctly between 2NH and 2MH pronoun-subjects; in [1], however, the verbal morphology may not be sufficient, and the context/discourse alone can distinguish between 1 and 2H pronoun - subjects.

2. Retention of pronoun-subjects may tend to give a vocative reading:

(3) *tõ j-o*
you(NH) go-IMP-(2NH)
'Hey you, go!'

(4) *tõ lab-əh*
you(MH) bring-IMP-(2MH)
'Hey you, bring!',

and so on.

3. Note the deletion of *a* in *a-o* combinations; this is a regular phonological feature of Maithili, e. g.,

(5) *kera-o → ker-o/*kerao*
banana-EMPH 'Even bananas'

(6) *to-ra-o → tor-o/*torao*
you(NH)-ACC/DAT-EMPH 'Even to you'

For more information, see chapter 7.

4. Ibid.
5. Note the insertion of *b*; see chapter 6.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Note that first *a* → *ə*; and then *b* is inserted. Thus *la-əit* → **ləəit* → *ləbəit*.
10. Ibid.
11. See note 8.
12. Note that there are at least some questions in which the *k*-words function in the same way. Compare the following sentences:

(7) *u kətek nəmhər ch-əi(k)?*
he(NH) how much big be-PRES-(3NH)
'How big is he?'

(8) *u kətek nəmhər ch-əi(k)!*
he-(NH) how much big be-PRES-(3NH)
'How big he is!'

Syntactically, sentences [7] and [8] look exactly alike, but [8] is characterized by a low pitch and has an expressive emotional quality about it.

Chapter nine

1. In highly polite imperative constructions, *jənu* is used to convey an impersonal request or advice:

(1) *ehən kaj jənu kər-i*
such work NEG do-IMP-(2H)
'Don't act like this/Don't do such a thing.'

2. The above statement is in general true. For stylistic purposes, however, the position of the negative particle must be inverted:
(i) In a verbal group containing a modal, the negative particle usually precedes the entire verb phrase; but, for purposes of emphasis, it may instead intervene between the main verb and the modal, e. g.;

(2) a. *o nəi ab-ə cah-əit ch-əith*
he(H) NEG come-INF want-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'He doesn't want to come.'
b. *o ab-ə nəi cah-əit ch-əith*
he(H) come-INF NEG want-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'He doesn't want to come.'

(ii) In poetry, NEG-initial constructions are permissible:

(3) ⟨*nəhi həmə kaelə ehənə əkajə*⟩
NEG I did such wrong deed
'I didn't do such a wrong deed.'

(iii) The negative particle may also appear initially with null subjects and/or null objects; note that the content of these null arguments is predictable from the specific verbal endings that are used:

(4) *nəi de-b ki kər-əb?*
NEG give-FUT-(1) what do-FUT-(2H)
'I won't give (it to you); what will you do (to me)?

(5) *nəi jæ-b?*
NEG go-FUT-(2H)
'Won't you go?'

(6) *nəi jæ-b*
NEG go-FUT-(1)
'I won't go.'

3. Note that the negative particle intervenes between the aspectual marker and the tense-carrying auxiliary in sentence [1273], while it succeeds the tensed verb in sentence [1274].
4. Here it is worthwhile to quote Comrie (1976: 261): "In general, a given causative verb will be expected to have one more noun phrase argument than the corresponding non-causative verb, since in addition to the subject and objects, if any, of that verb, there will be a noun phrase expressing the person or thing that causes, brings about that action."
5. For discussion of the criteria that determine the object-marking strategy in Maithili, see 3.3.2.
6. In Maithili, as in other Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi, Gujarati, and Marathi, the maximum number of causees may go up to a total of three in practice; theoretically, however, an infinite number of causees is conceivable.
7. A series of complex morphophonemic alternations of at least three types are in evidence here and in subsequent examples:
(i) insertion of *u* between the causative suffix and the non-present tense markers;
(ii) *a* → *ə* (as per the rule stated in 2.7); and
(iii) an optional realization of *əu* as *ɔ* – thereby allowing both *əu* and *ɔ* to coexist in the Maithili phonological system. Thus,
char-a-l-ək → *chər-a-l-ək* → *chər-əu-l-ək* → *chərɔlək*
thatch-CAUS I-PST-(3NH) 'caused to thatch';
similarly;
char-ba-l-ək → *chər-ba-l-ək* → *chər-bəu-l-ək* → *chərbɔlək*
thatch-CAUS II-PST-(3NH) 'caused to thatch'.
8. While it is true that Maithili does not permit compound verbs to passivize, one peculiarity of passivization of compound verbs involving such vector verbs as *le* and *de* should be noted. The suffixation of the past participial *-əl* to the vector verb (and not to the main verb as proposed in the rule of passive formation) yields a perfectly normal and natural passive construction. e. g.,

(7) *o də de-l ge-l-ah*
he(H) give give-PSTPCPL go-PST-(3H)
'He was (already) given.'

(8) *hun-ka sə rupəiya lə le-l*
he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR money take take-PSTPCPL
ge-l-əinh
go-PST-(3NH + 3H)
'Money was taken away from him.'

9. With phrasal coordination at the VP level, it is feasible to analyze the sentence as a sentential coordination with deleted coreferential subject.
10. In addition to being a marker of complement and relative clauses, *je* performs a number of other functions as well:
(i) as an exclamation:

(9) *ok-ər ṭhor je patər ch-əik!*
she(NH)-GENIT lips that thin be-PRES-(3NH + 3NH)
'What thin lips she has!'

(ii) emphasis:

(10) *a həm je rəh-əb*
and I that be-FUT-(1)
'After all I will be (there to help you).'

(iii) as an adverbial:

(11) *ghoṛa je kud-l-əik se o ḍera ge-l-ah*
horse that jump-PST-(3NH) that he(H) fear go-PST-(3H)
'As the horse suddenly jumped, he was scared.'

(iv) as a purpose clause:

(12) *həm hun-ka paṭhəu-l-iəinh je o otə*
I he(H)-ACC/DAT send-PST-(1 + 3H) so that he(H) there
pəṛh-t-ah
read-FUT-(3H)
'I sent him so that he will study there.'

(v) as a sarcastic remark:

(13) *jəmæ bhə kə je æ-l ch-əith*
son-in-law be CP that come-PERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
'After all he has come as a son-in-law.'

(vi) as an indefinite pronoun in such constructions as *je keo* 'whoever', *je kiuch* 'whatever'.

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